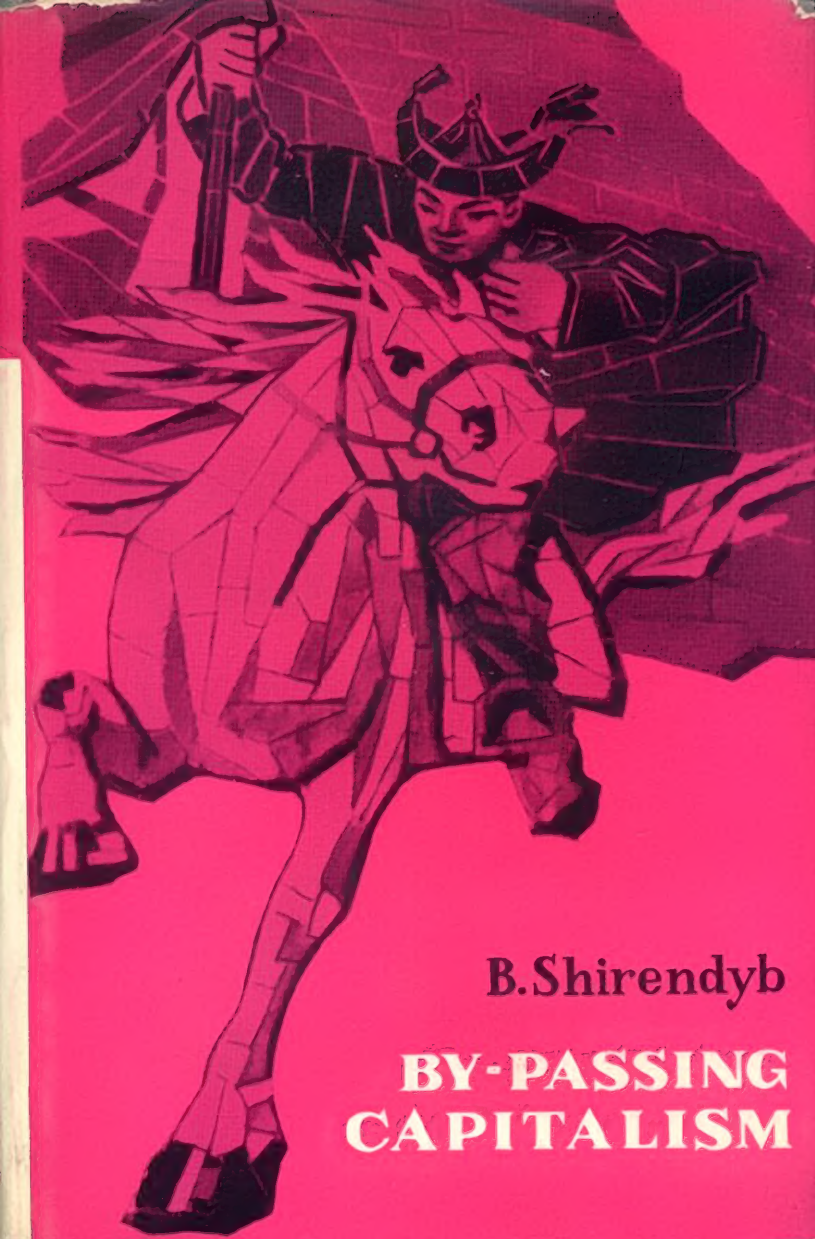

B. Shirendyb

BY-PASSING CAPITALISM

B. SHIRENDYB

BY-PASSING CAPITALISM

(Popular Essay)

EDITED BY B. LKHAMSURUN

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INTRODUCTION

The Mongolian People's Republic, one of the countries of the world socialist community, is located in the centre of Asia. It has a population of 1,120,700 and covers a territory of 1,565,000 square kilometres. It stretches for 2,400 km from east to west and for 1,260 km from north to south, bordering on the U.S.S.R. in the north and the north-west, and on the Chinese People's Republic in the south and the east.

Mongolia is mainly a mountainous country; its lowest areas are 500 m and more above sea level, its average altitude is 1,580 m above sea level. The country has a rich and diverse nature with forest-covered mountain ranges and hills (forests cover about nine per cent of the country's total area), mountain lakes and rapid rivers in the north and the Gobi Desert, which takes up a little less than one-third of the country's territory in the south; the desert proper constitutes not more than one-third of Gobi's area, the rest of it being a semi-desert with good herbage and frequent oases.

"Gobi is not a desert. It is a sandy steppe, but cattle-breeding and even agriculture may successfully develop in it. It is a vast territory possessing considerable natural resources. It is an area where man struggles and wins, where, as in other regions of the Mongolian People's Republic, and perhaps even to a greater extent, socialism wins enormous daily victories,"* wrote Albert-Paul Lentin, a French traveller who visited Gobi in 1964.

* Albert-Paul Lentin, "Le Gobi n'est pas un désert." *Démocratie nouvelle* No. 10, Oct. 1965, p. 73.

Gobi is the habitat of such rare animals as the wild horse, wild camel, wild ass, mountain goat, sheep, and Gobi bear.

The Mongolian People's Republic has a mountain-steppe topography characterised by numerous gentle slopes and hills with fine pastures.

There are several hundred lakes in the country; the largest of them are Ubsu-nur (3,350 sq km), Khubsugul (2,620 sq km) and Khara-usnur (1,760 sq km). The largest rivers in Mongolia are the Orkhon (1,124 km), Kerulen (1,090 km), Selenga (on Mongolian territory it is 593 km long), Dzabkhan (808 km), Tola (704 km) and Tes (568 km).

Mongolia's climate is sharply continental; in the northern part of the country the mean January temperature is —34°C, in the Gobi it is —19°C; the mean July temperature is 15°C and 23°C respectively. But the rigour of the climate is to a certain extent compensated for by many sunny days, their number ranging from 220 to 260 per year.

Mongolia is rich in minerals; it has coal, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, precious and semi-precious stones, and various building materials.

Administratively the Republic is divided into 18 *aimaks* (regions) which are in turn subdivided into *somons* (districts). The capital of the Republic is Ulan Bator (formerly Urga, the third capital in the history of Mongolia, founded more than 300 years ago) with a population of 240,000.

The state power of the Republic is in the hands of the working people who exercise it through representative bodies called *khurals* (assemblies) of the people's deputies.

* * *

The history of Mongolia runs back into hoary antiquity. Signs of ancient inhabitants—coarse stone tools hundreds of thousands of years old—are found in various parts of the country.

With the improvement of the tools, the development of cattle-breeding and to an inconsiderable extent agriculture and, lastly, with the growth of private property primitive equality disappeared and the power of the propertied people increased. Various tribal associations and unions headed by leaders came into existence on the territory of

present-day Mongolia long before 2000 B.C. This state-forming process intensified particularly in the 3rd century B.C. and continued between the 3rd and 9th centuries A.D.

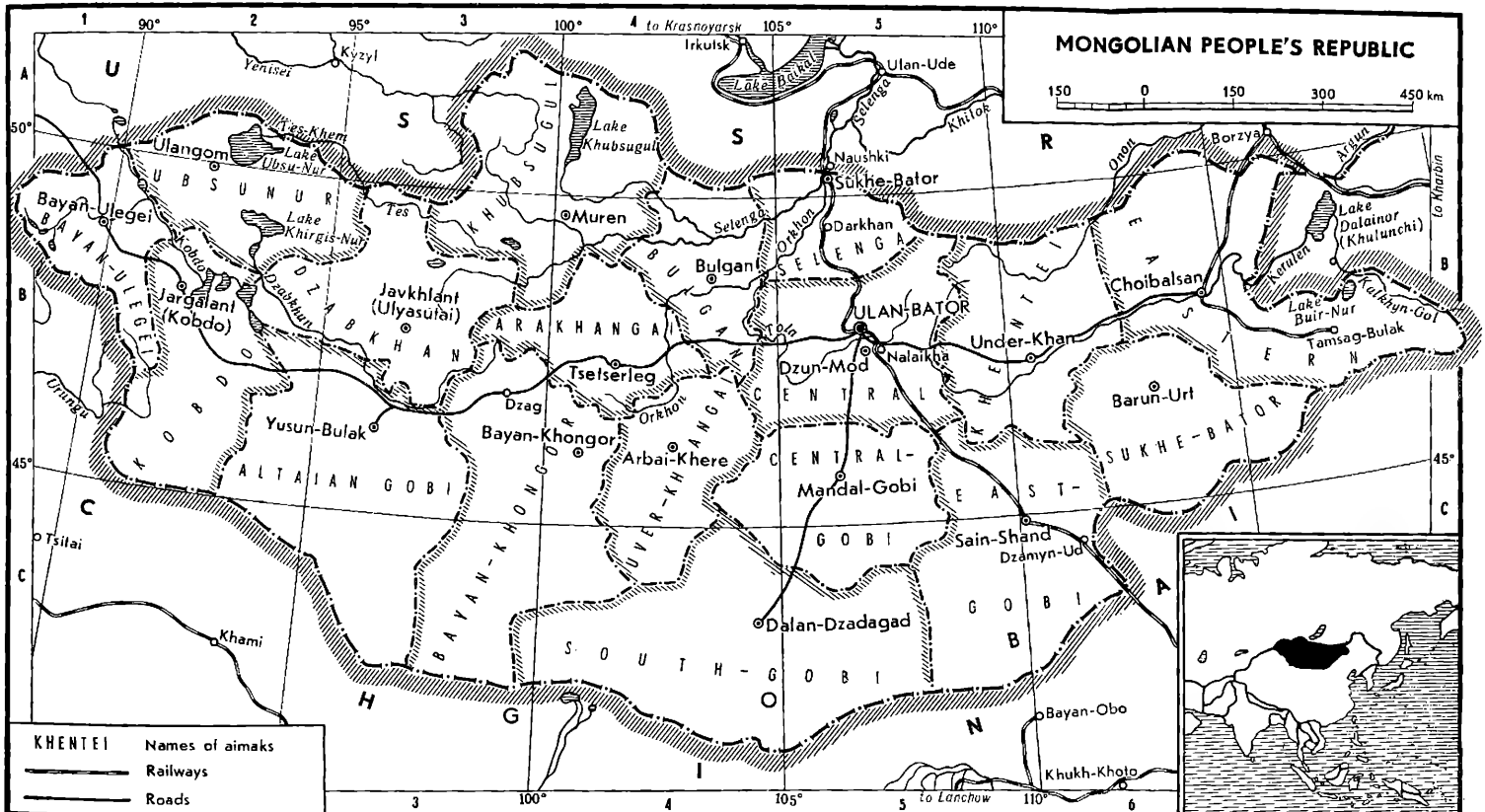
A single Mongolian feudal state was formed from a number of small states and tribal unions in 1206. Temuchin, a representative of the then rising class of feudal lords, was proclaimed, under the name of Genghis Khan, the great khan of this first united state. Genghis Khan and his successors carried out certain measures in the administrative organisation of the state, building an army and developing culture, especially a written language. However, their activities became extremely anti-popular and reactionary as soon as they instituted a policy of plundering the neighbouring regions and conquering other countries. Predatory, annexationist wars which destroyed the productive forces of many Asian and European countries were waged for more than 40 years.

The peoples of the subjugated countries rose to a heroic struggle against the Mongolian conquerors. Their resistance coincided with the struggle which the Mongolian people were themselves conducting against their khans.

The wars which were waged over a period of many years and, especially, the departure of the most able-bodied part of the population composing the army ruined Mongolia's economy. The vast Mongolian Empire, which in the 13th and 14th centuries claimed world ascendancy and held numerous countries in subjection, began to break up in the 15th century. Gradually the Mongolian state proper fell into decay and broke up into three separate khanates. The process of disintegration continued and could not be stopped even by the most determined efforts of a number of Mongolian khans.

Weakened by its wars against other countries and the intestine strife among the khans the Mongolian state was subjugated by Manchurian conquerors in 1691. The country became a province of the economically and politically backward Tsin, i.e., Manchurian Empire. "For a weak person a weak master," says a wise Mongolian proverb. The Manchurian yoke finally wore out and exhausted Mongolia both economically and politically.

The Manchurian feudal lords continued to divide the country into numerous small independent possessions in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Borzya
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Choibalsan
Bayan-Ulegei
Jargalant (Kobdo)
Javkhlant (Ulyasutai)
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ULAN-BATOR
Nalaikha
Under-Khan
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Tamsag-Bulak
Kalkhyn-Gol
Tsetserleg
Dzag
Orkhon
Dzun-Mod
Barun-Urt
Yusun-Bulak
Bayan-Khongor
Arbai-Khere
Mandal-Gobi
Sain-Shand
Dzamyn-Ud
Dalan-Dzadagad
Bayan-Obo
Khukh-Khoto
to Lanchow
Tsitsikar
Khami
Urungu
KHENTEI
Names of aimaks
Railways
Roads

order thereby to prevent a possible unification of the anti-Manchurian forces. A despotic system stringently regulating all aspects of the Mongolian people's life was established in the country. For two centuries Manchurian emperors were the rulers of both Mongolia and China.

Nomadic cattle-breeding with an extremely low productivity was for many centuries the main occupation of the Mongolian people. The *arats* (cattle-breeders) bred five species of local races of animals—sheep, goats, horses, cattle and Bactrian (two-humped) camels. The animals were kept on pastures all the year round and were wholly dependent upon the elements—snow- and sandstorms, frosts, dearth of fodder and epizootics.

The main animal products in Mongolia were coarse wool, meat and fleece of goats, and milk and hair of cattle. Horses were used for riding and mare's milk for making the favourite Mongolian drink—*airag* (koumiss). Camels gave the cattle-breeders valuable wool and were used as pack and riding animals.

Cattle was the principal means of production of Mongolian feudal society. The feudal lords were the largest cattle owners. On the eve of the revolution of 1921 an average prince owned 17 times as much cattle, 37 times as many sheep and goats, 49 times as many camels and 75 times as many horses as did an ordinary arat.*

The production relations of the Mongolian feudal society were based on the feudal lords' ownership of land and enormous numbers of cattle, and their incomplete ownership of arat serfs. The rulers of the more than 100 small independent principalities, while being vassals of the Manchurian Emperor, were actually the sole masters of their possessions. The best pastures were used primarily by the princes and their relatives, while the arats were allowed to use the rest of the land, which satisfied the requirements of the nomadic cattle-breeding economy.

Examining the land relations in countries of diversified nomadic cattle-breeding various authors make different approaches to the question of the basis of feudal property in these countries. Some are inclined to regard cattle as the

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* See B. Shirendyb, *Mongolia at the Turn of the 20th Century*, Ulan Bator, 1963, p. 125.

basis, others—the pastures, i.e., the land; still others hold that land and cattle were equivalent elements of the basis of the aforesaid relations.

The peculiarity of feudal landownership in Mongolia was that the land was used for the most part as a natural pasture. But this does not mean that it was not the basis of feudal property. Under the specific conditions of a nomadic cattle-breeding economy the land is indissolubly connected with cattle because cattle cannot exist without pastures. It would be illogical to assert that cattle-breeding was based on anything but land. It is not a mere accident that a popular proverb says: "Without grass there is no cattle, without cattle there is no food."

Thus the economy of both croppers and cattle-breeders was based on land. The difference between the croppers and cattle-breeders was that the former received their products directly from the land in the form of various agricultural crops, while the latter operated their economy on the basis of pastures and received their products from the same land in the form of milk, meat, wool, etc. Under the conditions of the feudal mode of production with an extensive operation of the economy the volume of both the agricultural output and animal products depended on the elements. A favourable year ensured a bumper crop, well-fed cattle and a high yield of milk, whereas a drought resulted in considerable damage to both croppers and cattle-breeders.

An arat deprived of land had his own cattle which had to be grazed on the pastures of some sovereign prince without whose permission he could not roam from place to place in search of better grasses.

The arats were under various obligations—labour payments in kind and in money—to the local and Manchurian feudal lords, the fulfilment of these obligations bringing them increasingly more to ruin. Foreign merchants who enmeshed the country in a dense trading network enriched themselves at the expense of the Mongolian people by selling them goods on credit and, what was even more shackling, making high-interest loans to the princes, the brunt of these loans being borne by the arats.

Thus not only the local feudal lords and officials, but also Manchurian emperors and Chinese usurers, grew rich

at the expense of the arats, while complete impoverishment, total ruin, inhuman oppression and deprivation of political rights were the lot of the arats.

MONGOLIAN LIFE AND CULTURE

Mongols engaged in cattle-breeding live in felt *yurtas*, i.e., round cone-shaped dwellings, a more complex type of structure than huts or tents. The framework of a yurta is made up of extensible lattices and a door-frame; the framework of the roof consists of an upper ring and shafts. A yurta is well adapted to a nomadic mode of life. It is light, strong, easily assembled and dismantled and convenient in transportation. It can be transported in Mongolian two-wheel carts and as a pack. An average-size summer yurta weighs 200-250 kg. Each family has its own individual yurta.

With the spread of civilisation peculiar forms of transition from the nomadic to a settled type of dwelling appeared. Small structures, at first serving only an auxiliary purpose, were put up side by side with the yurtas. Later more spacious houses intended for human occupancy came into existence, their owners spending at least part of the year in them.

Since the people's revolution large, well-built modern towns, socialist-type settlements, centres of agricultural associations, etc., have come into being. In the towns the people now live in comfortable modern apartments.

Mongolia is a country of an old and distinctive culture with numerous original old relics and monuments.

Over a number of centuries the Mongolian people have produced many original works of art and literature.

Such remarkable works as the *Heartfelt Narrative* and the *Gesseriada*, the *Argassun Khurchi* legend, verses carved on Tsogtu-Taiji, Khuulchi Sandag's poems, Inzhinash's novel *The Blue Book* and beautiful samples of folklore have come down to our time.

The various forms of Mongolian folklore include satirical stories, popular dramas, historical and lyrical songs, and wise proverbs and sayings. The Mongolian epos is very rich and it would take not hours but days and even weeks

to recite it. Songs have always been particularly popular in the country. Most of them were produced by arats, shepherds and horseherds. Songs make it possible to gain an insight into the soul of the Mongolian people, their dreams and aspirations and acquaint the listener with all the most important events of the past.

Many works of folklore express the people's striving for freedom and a better life, their love for their native land and hatred for their oppressors; they also glorify heroes and champions of freedom and independence.

Unable to rout their cruel enemies,
The Mongols invented legends
About heroes—omnipotent and wise –
Who fearlessly fought and defeated
the dangerous enemies...
*In those legends lived the people's dreams.**

Pre-revolutionary Mongolian literature was the domain of the elect—a small group of lamas and secular feudal lords. Besides, at the time of the Manchurian rule literature and art were strongly influenced by Buddhism.

Buddhism left its imprint on the culture and customs of the past. It appeared in Mongolia a very long time ago and, in the 16th century, Lamaism, one of its forms, became firmly established in the country as the official religion.

With the aid of a large network of monasteries Lamaism extended its influence to all walks of Mongolian society's life and served both the internal and foreign exploiters. In the beginning of the 20th century the country had some 700 monasteries and more than 100,000 lamas who lived at the expense of the masses of the people.

The Mongolian clergy was not homogeneous; among the lamas there were exploiters and exploited—higher lamas and ordinary ministers of the cult. However, before the revolution the contradictions between the higher and lower lamas did not manifest themselves sharply because the latter in a certain measure also lived on unearned

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* Ts. Damdinsuren, "A Message to the Soviet People", *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1958, p. 53.

incomes and, besides, were obedient to their "teachers", the higher lamas.

Despite the spiritual stupefaction of the masses the popular culture counteracted the influence of religion and thus to some extent retained its originality.

In addition to the stream of religious literature a large number of secular scientific works appeared. These were books on grammar, dictionaries (Tibetan-Mongolian, Chinese-Manchurian-Mongolian), translations from the Chinese—*Treatise on Co-ordinates*, *Three Dynasties*, etc., and from the Hindu—*Panchatantra* (*Wonderful History of Ancient and Present Times*), *Arzhi Burzhi*, *Magic Corpse*, etc., and original Mongolian works.

The famous singer Gelegbalsan (1846-1923) painted in *A Plea to Heaven for Rain*, his best-known work, a vivid and realistic picture of the disastrous and humiliating condition of the arats. This plea was a timid and indirect protest to which alone the oppressed people could then give voice.

Well-known old traditional forms of national art, such as carvings in wood and bone, artistic engraving, moulding, various drawings, ornaments, embroideries and applications have come down to our time.

The distinctive decorative and applied art clearly manifested itself in things used in everyday life, clothing, decorations, etc. The high craftsmanship is attested by wall-paintings in palaces, monasteries and other buildings.

Like all other people, the Mongolians have always honoured their national holidays and customs, for example, Nadom, New Year, the holiday occasioned by cutting a child's hair, etc.

Nadom is a national sports holiday rooted in hoary antiquity. It is a kind of olympics. The exact meaning of the word Nadom is "Three Games of Man"—wrestling, archery and horse-racing, the favourite sports events of the people.

In olden times Nadom was called the Great Nadom of Seven Tribes (in accordance with the number of Khalkha tribes which gave rise to the people of Northern Mongolia). It was organised once in three years and had a very definite number of wrestlers—1,088—participating. Since the end of the 19th century the Great Nadom has been conducted annually.

New Year (in Mongolian *Tsagaan Sar—White Month*). The Mongolian year has 12 months, usually of 30 days each, for which reason in the course of a short period the lunar year turns out to be a whole month ahead of the solar year. To eliminate this discrepancy, Mongolian astronomers ever so often introduce into the calendar a year of 13 months. That is why the Mongolian New Year failed to coincide with the European and was usually in February or March.

On the eve of the White Month services lasting several days are held in the temples. After each family has performed all the rites and has extended all the congratulations the men wearing their best clothes assemble in the yurta of the most respected person.

Hair-Cutting. Usually, when a child grows to be three years old, his hair is cut for the first time, the relatives and friends being invited to the ceremony. The guests bring alcoholic beverages, koumiss and cheese, while the closest relatives bring the child very valuable presents, including cattle and various other property.

The oldest of the relatives cuts off a small lock of hair with a scissors and simultaneously utters a good wish. All the others follow suit. The mother collects all the clipped hair into a kerchief tied to the scissors and sews them into the child's pillow.

This ceremony is followed by a feast which is preceded by a song contest, while during the feast everybody repeatedly performs the national dance—*bielekh*—in which an essential part is played by facial expressions combined with peculiar gestures.

The celebration of Nadom, Tsagaan Sar and all the other important days, as well as the observance of traditions and customs, is an historical phenomenon. With the changes in the life of society all these holidays and observances also suffered, even if slowly, certain changes.

The Mongolians very solemnly and in conformity with strictly established rules celebrated their weddings.

Such were briefly the main aspects of economic, everyday and spiritual life of the people of pre-revolutionary Mongolia, recently one of the most backward Asian countries.

A beggarly existence and serf labour of a downtrodden and exploited nomadic people, on the one hand, and a parasitic life of aimak princelings and the Lamaist cast sponging on the nomads, on the other hand, such was the fate of the Mongolian people.

* * *

The arats continuously intensified their struggle against the exploiters—the local and Manchurian feudal lords and the foreign merchant-usurers. Secular and spiritual feudal lords usually tried to seize the leadership of this national liberation movement. Acting as "leaders" of the movement against the foreign feudal lords and merchants they endeavoured to mitigate the internal contradictions of Mongolian society and conceal the sharp class struggle of the arats, but, as soon as the national liberation movement assumed wide scope and the masses of the people had a chance to win, the feudal lords deserted the struggle.

The greatest anti-Manchurian uprisings of the arats were those of 1755-58. They occurred in the western and central parts of present-day Mongolia.

The motive forces of these uprisings, as also those of the national liberation movement in general, were the peasant masses—arats. Their leaders were Mongolian princes—Amursana and Chingunzhab of Khotogoi. Despite the selfless struggle of the masses of the people the uprisings were brutally suppressed by Manchurian troops. The most prominent participants of the uprisings were savagely dealt with.

But far from discontinuing the struggle against the Manchurian feudal lords and foreign usurers, the Mongolian people, on the contrary, intensified it.

In the second half of the 19th century the liberation movement of the Mongolian arats assumed a more organised, so-called duguilan form (from the word *dugui*—circle). The movement was now based on the principle of complete equality of its participants. Everything was now decided jointly by all the participants who sat in a circle on an equal level; in order to be equally responsible, everybody signed the adopted decisions.

The 1890s were marked by outbreaks and mutinies of Mongolian soldiers serving in the Manchurian garrisons of various Mongolian towns.

The national liberation movement of the arats was depicted in literature which in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries subjected the clergy to considerable criticism. The authors of a number of works relentlessly removed from the Buddhist monks the mask of bigotry and hypocrisy. The lines from Ishidanzanvanzhil's *Golden Precept* (end of the 19th century) sound very sharp in their merciless castigation of the corruption and cruelty of the feudal lords and the sanctimony of the lamas.

The liberation movement exerted a definite influence on the poorest part of the clergy. For example, in 1905-10 many lamas of the main Mongolian monastery in Urga entered into a sharp conflict with foreign merchants and Manchurian officials.

At the turn of the century the influx of imperialist capital grew up in China with the result that Mongolia was gradually also drawn into international political and economic affairs, into the sphere of influence of the world capitalist market. Trade actively developed among a certain section of the Mongolian population. The penetration of foreign capital transformed Mongolia into a semi-colonial country. The feudal obligations, debts to foreign usurers and deprivation of political rights served to increase the indignation of the arats. The anti-Manchurian uprising assumed a wide scope and spread all over the country. This was greatly facilitated by the first Russian revolution of 1905 and the struggle of the Chinese people against the Manchurian yoke resulting in the overthrow of the Manchurian dynasty in China in 1911.

Assuming the leadership of the national liberation movement the Mongolian feudal lords came to power in 1911 and proclaimed Mongolia an independent country. Leaning on the support of tsarist Russia the Mongolian Government formed after the overthrow of the Manchurian dynasty organised an army and carried out a number of reforms. It goes without saying that tsarist Russia and Russian capitalists supported the Mongolian feudal lords because of their own imperialist interests in order to secure the Mongolian market.

The Chinese compradore bourgeoisie, acting through the governments of Yuan Shih-kai, Tuan Chi-jui, and others, did its utmost to prevent the independence of Mongolia with the result that a so-called triple agreement was signed by Russia, China and Mongolia on May 25, 1915, imposing China's suzerainty on Outer Mongolia.* However, both Russia and China recognised Outer Mongolia as an autonomous part of China.

Thus Mongolia's state independence won by the struggle of the masses of the people was reduced to a mere autonomy. This was the result of the colonial policy of Yuan Shih-kai China, tsarist Russia and other powers. It was nevertheless a step forward for the subsequent restoration of the former independence of the country.

However, the main demand of the Mongolian people's national liberation movement—elimination of the domestic and foreign oppressors—was not satisfied. The exploiters changed, but exploitation remained. The country continued to be feudal and semi-colonial.

During the period of autonomy the class struggle of the arats against the feudal lords and their liberation movement against foreign capitalists increasingly intensified. Developing from single into group actions this struggle sometimes assumed the form of armed conflicts. The major armed uprising under the leadership of a peasant named Ayush is an example of such a conflict.

But none of these uprisings were able to put on the agenda the question of a revolutionary change of the social system and were confined mainly to protests against the arbitrariness of the rulers and the foreign companies.

Only the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia opened to the Mongolian people the way to liberation from national and social oppression.

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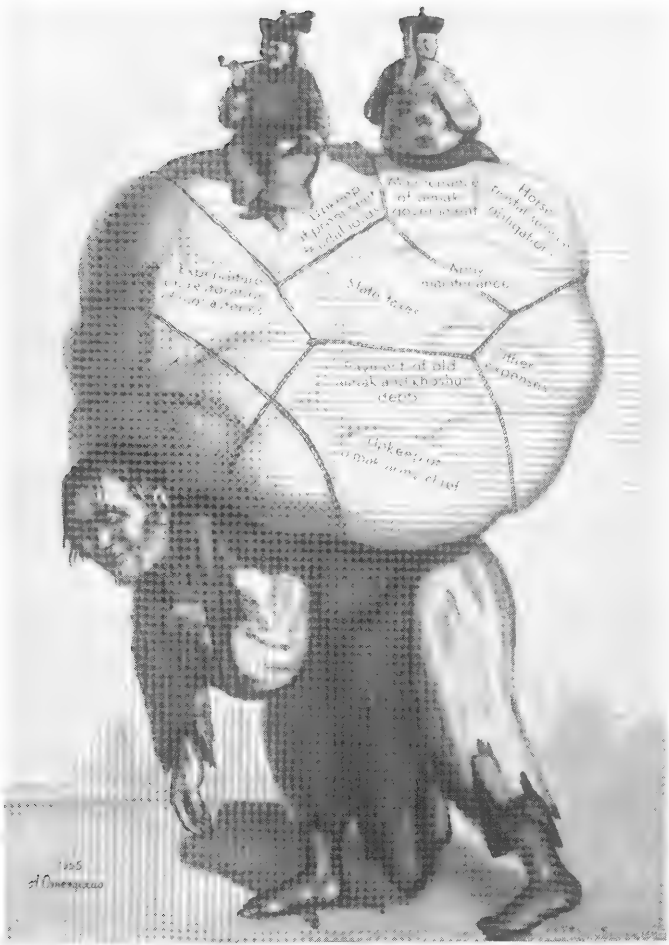
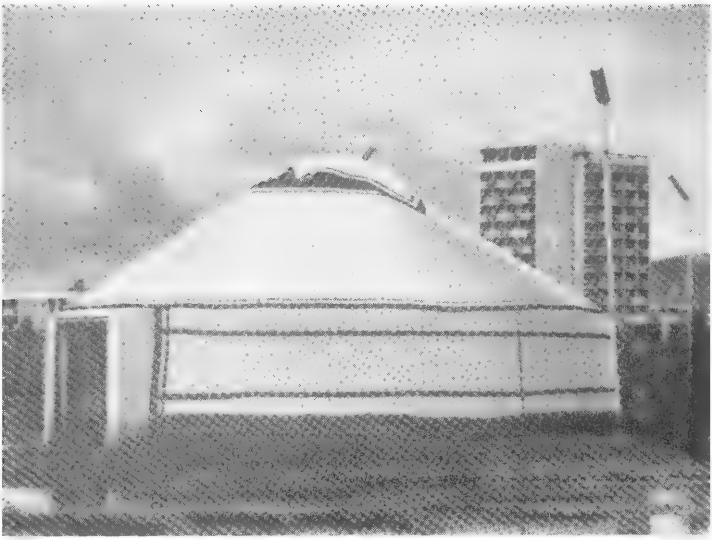
* Outer Mongolia is an historical designation. After the Manchurian rulers established their domination over Mongolia in the 17th century, the country was divided into Outer (Northern) Mongolia, present Mongolian People's Republic, and Inner (Southern) Mongolia, an autonomous region in the Chinese People's Republic.

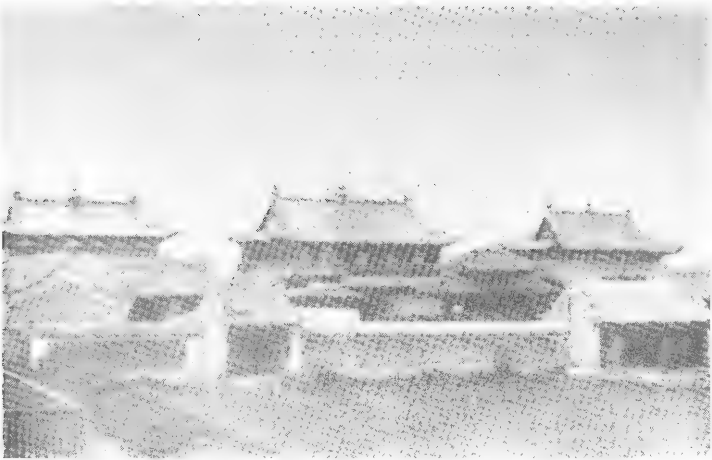


Satirical revolutionary poster "The Burden of the People"



A yurta

Typical architecture of a Buddhist monastery in Mongolia



CHAPTER 1

VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION IN 1921 AND THE CHOICE OF A NON-CAPITALIST WAY OF DEVELOPMENT

In 1917 the Great October Socialist Revolution won in Russia, a country neighbouring on Mongolia. This revolution was a turning point in world history; it ushered in an era of the collapse of capitalism and colonialism, and establishment of socialism. The Land of Soviets became a reliable bulwark and ally of the oppressed peoples in their struggle against imperialist and feudal oppression.

The liberatory ideas of October roused a ready response in many countries, including Mongolia. The revolutionising influence of October deeply shook old Mongolian society. Afraid of losing their power the feudal lords had to seek the support of various imperialist agents. Taking advantage of the situation Chinese militarists brought large military forces into Mongolia in 1918-19. With the aid of these armed forces and the treacherous clique of the Mongolian feudal lords the representatives of the Peking government abolished Mongolia's autonomy and declared Mongolia a province of China.

This evoked an unprecedented upsurge of the national liberation movement in the country. The rage of the people was aimed at the occupants—the Chinese militarists and their lackeys, the Mongolian feudal lords. Urga, the centre of the country, became the arena of critical political events.

Two independent illegal revolutionary circles were organised in Urga in 1919; these circles headed the struggle for the freedom of the arats and the independence of the country. Despite the heterogeneity of their initial member-

ship the revolutionary circles strove not only for national, but also for social liberation of the country. Owing to the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution this aim subsequently became the determining line of the struggle of these circles. In the course of the struggle D. Sukhe Bator* and his devoted comrades-in-arms proved to be steadfast and courageous fighters. The Mongolian revolutionaries mobilised the broad masses of working people to struggle for the attainment of the great ideas. Thus began the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal people's democratic revolution in Mongolia.

The main motive force of this revolution was the Mongolian peasantry, the arats, who rose under the ideological influence of the October Revolution to a decisive struggle for their national and social liberation.

The Mongolian arats found in Soviet Russia a true friend and ally.

But the imperialists were opposed to the rapprochement between the Mongolian peasantry and the working class of Soviet Russia and did their utmost to prevent the transformation of semi-colonial Mongolia into an independent revolutionary country, an ally of the world's first socialist state.

In the Far East the Japanese imperialists knocked together the remnants of the whiteguard bands for a struggle against the young Soviet Republic and for suppressing the national liberation movement of the Mongolian people. They took advantage of the discontent of certain sections of Mongolia's population and the outrages perpetrated by Chinese militarists and prepared in the beginning of 1921 the invasion of Mongolia by military units headed by Ungern, a Baltic baron and whiteguard general. They helped Ungern with money, arms and officers. Thus two simultaneously acting forces of foreign imperialists—Chinese militarists and Ungern's whiteguard detachments—began to exercise their sway in Mongolia. Both these forces openly

* Damdingiin Sukhe Bator (1893-1923), son of a poor arat, worked since he was a child as a driver of post horses and then as a type-setter in the Urga printing-house. During his service in the army of autonomous Mongolia he became one of the noted commanders and displayed courage and resourcefulness in the battles for the independence of his homeland.

D. Sukhe Bator, the Leader of the Mongolian Revolution

robbed, violated and murdered the Mongolian people, thereby still more aggravating the conditions of the masses; they also sharply increased the labour services and taxes imposed on the arats.

Under these exceptionally difficult conditions the revolutionaries skilfully organised the masses for a struggle against the militarists and Ungernites, for the establishment of a people's power. They conducted secret explanatory work among the population and organised volunteer detachments for an armed struggle.

The revolutionaries unmasked the anti-national actions of the feudal lords and explained to the arats that they must rely on the aid of the Soviet socialist state and the support of the international working-class movement. This extensive organisational and political work resulted in a sharp increase in the revolutionary activities of the masses.

It was under these circumstances that on March 1, 1921, the Mongolian People's Party held its 1st Congress which proclaimed the establishment of the Party and elected its Central Committee. The decisions of the Congress played an extremely important role in the subsequent victorious development of the people's revolution. A Provisional People's Government of Mongolia was elected at a conference of representatives of the masses of working people held on March 13, 1921. This government became a true leader of the armed uprising. Broad masses of arats rose to the struggle and were joined by intelligentsia, officials and even some patriotically-minded feudal elements. The Party ensured a unity of action of all these forces in the struggle against foreign occupants and their Mongolian allies—the reactionary feudal lords.

On March 18, 1921, as a result of a heroic attack, the People's Partisan Army liberated the Kyakhta Maimachen from an army of Chinese militarists many thousands strong. The remnants of the invader's troops had to leave the country. This first historic victory of the young Mongolian People's Army consolidated the position of the revolutionary forces and inspired the arats to a victorious struggle.

Considering the international working-class movement and primarily Soviet Russia the unfailing class allies of the Mongolian arats, the People's Party expanded its relations

with this movement and strengthened the friendship of the Mongolian people with the peoples of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.).

The Provisional People's Government of Mongolia asked the Government of Soviet Russia for armed assistance in the struggle against their common enemy—the whiteguard bands. The Government of the R.S.F.S.R. complied with the request.

The entry of the Red Army into Mongolia activated the revolutionary struggle of the masses of arats and at the same time paralysed the forces of reaction.

Thus the national liberation struggle of the Mongolian people against Baron Ungern, agent of world imperialism, merged with the Civil War of the Soviet people against the whiteguards. It was a united front of the common struggle of the working people of Soviet Russia and the oppressed Mongolian peasants against the reactionary forces of international imperialism. The anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in Mongolia thus became a constituent part of the world revolutionary process.

Several defeats were inflicted on the Ungernites in May and June 1921 by joint operations of Mongolian and Soviet military units.

At the same time the fighting union of the two revolutionary armies cemented with the jointly shed blood the friendship between the peoples of Mongolia and Soviet Russia.

On June 28, 1921, the Central Committee of the People's Party and the Provisional Government passed a resolution to liberate the country's capital—Urga (old name of Ulan Bator). Units of the Mongolian People's Liberation Army and of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army set out for the main city of the country. Theirs was a difficult march because of floods, absence of bridges and shortage of transport, food and fodder.

Nevertheless, as early as July 6 the advance detachments of Mongolian and Soviet troops entered Urga and smashed the bulwark of the domestic and foreign oppressors. The country's capital, where the first revolutionary circles had come into existence, was liberated.

Thus under the leadership of the Mongolian People's Party and with the aid of the working people of Soviet

Russia the arats won an historic victory in the people's revolution over imperialism and its agents, as well as over their own feudal lords. The entire power in the country passed into the hands of the arats. A People's Government was formed on July 11, 1921.

By the end of 1921 Soviet and Mongolian troops essentially liquidated the large whiteguard bands which operated in the northern, western and partly eastern areas of the country.

The people's revolution of 1921 was a turning point in the age-old history of the Mongolian people. As the result of its victory the country won true state independence and freedom, broke away from the world capitalist system and obtained a fortunate opportunity for transition to socialism, by-passing capitalism.

The People's Government decided to consolidate and expand the friendly relations and co-operation between Mongolia and Soviet Russia born and tested in the joint fighting against Ungern's armed forces.

A delegation of the People's Government, including Sukhe Bator, the Commander-in-Chief of the Mongolian People's Liberation Army, Tserendorzh, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Danzan, Minister of Finance, negotiated with the Soviet Government the establishment of official diplomatic relations. As a result of the negotiations an agreement on establishing diplomatic relations between the Government of the R.S.F.S.R. and the Government of Mongolia was signed in Moscow on November 5, 1921. According to this agreement the Government of the R.S.F.S.R. recognised the People's Government as the only lawful government of Mongolia, and the People's Government recognised the R.S.F.S.R.

Thus the world's first Soviet socialist state and the first People's Democracy—Mongolia—which came into existence under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, mutually recognised each other in order, by the unity of their action, to defend their revolutionary gains and to develop them to final victory.

True to the principles of socialist foreign policy the Soviet Government confirmed by a special article of the agreement its renunciation of the exceptional rights and privileges which tsarist Russia had enjoyed in Mongolia.

transferred without compensation to Mongolia all the property formerly owned by Russia and cancelled the pre-revolutionary debt of Mongolia amounting to about five million gold rubles.

The agreement clearly expressed the principles of true equality, complete mutual respect and friendship between the two neighbouring peoples. It served as a reliable guarantee of Mongolia's further free and independent non-capitalist development.

The Mongolian Government strove to establish peaceful, friendly relations with other countries as well. It made attempts to establish good-neighbour relations with China as early as July 16, 1921. However, the Peking government of that time and its militarist clique not only refused to meet this initiative half way, but even tried their utmost to aggravate the relations between the two countries.

The People's Government of Mongolia devoted considerable attention to solving the social and political problems which issued from the tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. Already in the course of the struggle against the Ungernites the government guided by the People's Party tackled such problems of paramount revolutionary importance as the spread of the influence of the people's power to all of the country's areas, limitation of the political and economic privileges of the feudal class, etc. It was very difficult to carry out these measures because of the lack of trained personnel from among the arats, the sabotage by the officials of the old state machinery, the influence of the Church, and the resistance of the reactionary part of the feudal lords and representatives of foreign trade capital which continued to dominate in the Mongolian market.

After the final ejection of the Ungernites from the country the Mongolian people were in a position more completely to solve many anti-feudal problems.

But under the exceptionally difficult and complex historical conditions of that time it required three years of democratic reforms before it was possible to proclaim a republic.

Many of the most important revolutionary reforms were carried out during 1922-24; these included abolition of arat serfdom, annulment of feudal obligations, cancellation

of the population's debts to foreign firms, restrictions on foreign capital by an imposition of taxes and duties and creation of national trade and consumer co-operatives, improvement of state-owned industrial enterprises, strengthening of the state finance and credit system, etc.

Whereas with the formation of the people's power and then as a result of a number of political and economic measures the basis of serf relations was seriously undermined already in 1921, in the course of 1922 it was completely destroyed. The abolition of arat serfdom with all the ensuing political, economic and legal consequences signified the solution of one of the fundamental problems of the anti-feudal revolution.

The arats' heavy obligation—military service for the feudal state with all the expenditures it involved—was annulled. It should be noted that this obligation had partly been annulled already in the course of the revolution and finally after its victory by the abolition of all the privileges of the feudal lords who had formerly been exempt from all civic duties, including military service.

The system of horse messenger and postal service was partly reorganised in the interests of the arats as early as 1921, the reorganisation being further developed in 1922-24.

In elaborating and pursuing the tax policy, as well as in solving all other problems, the Central Committee of the People's Party and the People's Government proceeded primarily from the needs of the anti-feudal revolution and the class interests of the arats.

Taxes were imposed on all princes, spiritual feudal lords, the nobility and the exploiter part of the clergy.

The taxation of the holdings of secular and spiritual lords, monasteries and *shabi** was an extraordinary advantage to the arats who constituted the overwhelming majority of the country's population. The class essence of the new principles of the taxation policy lay, of course, also

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* *Shabi*—serfs dependent on major spiritual feudal lords, primarily the bogdo-gegen (head of the Lamaist Church). The shabi stemmed from the subjects of secular princes and enjoyed certain privileges, for example, a right of free migration with their herds, total exemption from military service, etc. The serfs of secular feudal lords and the *albata* (state peasants) were interested in becoming shabi.

in that the revenues were used to satisfy the needs of the people's state and were spent in the interests of consolidating the power of the class of arats over the class of feudal lords.

In addition to solving these pre-eminently important social problems, other measures were also carried out; these measures were aimed at gradually restricting the economic and legal privileges of the major spiritual and secular feudal lords, from the bogdo-khan to princes and nobility.

During 1922-24 the old political system was being broken up and the old local government bodies were gradually replaced by arat khurals (assemblies).

In order to strengthen the connections with the masses, the People's Government began to exercise extensive control over the activities of the local government bodies as early as 1922. An important part in accomplishing this was played by representatives of the government.

On the basis of the experience accumulated in the matter of democratising the political system the People's Government approved, on January 5, 1923, two most important legislative acts—Statute of Local Government Bodies of the Mongolian State and Statute of the Rights of Sovereign (*khoshun*)* and Non-Sovereign (*vans* and *guns*) Princes.

Consolidating the restrictive measures aimed against the class of feudal lords the latter Statute was supposed completely to abolish the institution of sovereign princes and extensively enlist the arats for the local government bodies. In accordance with the aforesaid documents considerable work was done in electing local government bodies in 1923-24. Both statutes were of enormous social and political importance and played an outstanding role in abolishing the economic and legal canons of the class of feudal lords and in strengthening the new local government bodies, which fully corresponded to the interests of the masses of arats and met with their active support.

By reorganising the aimaks and some khoshuns and organising new khoshuns and somons the state in certain measure regulated the pasture, i.e., land problem. The

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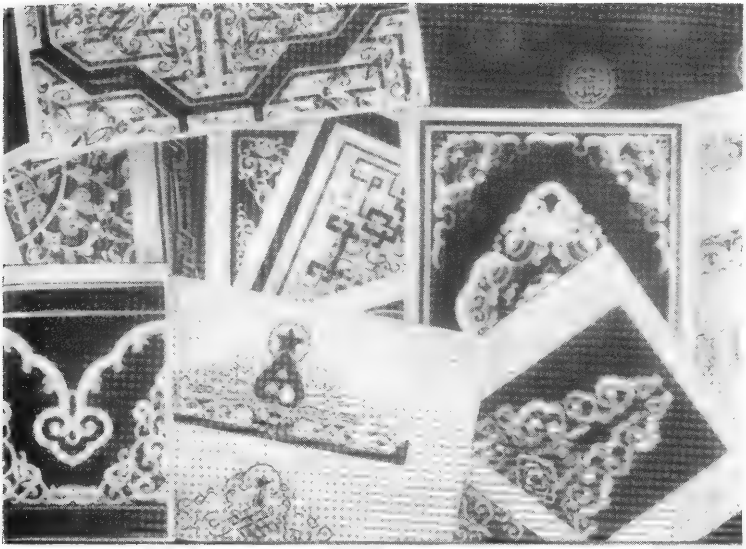
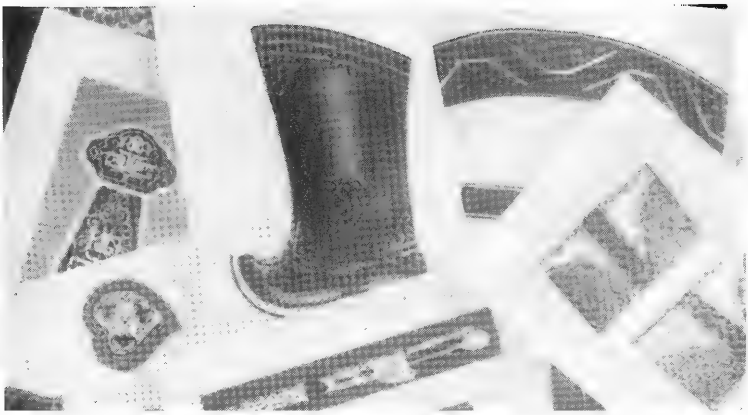
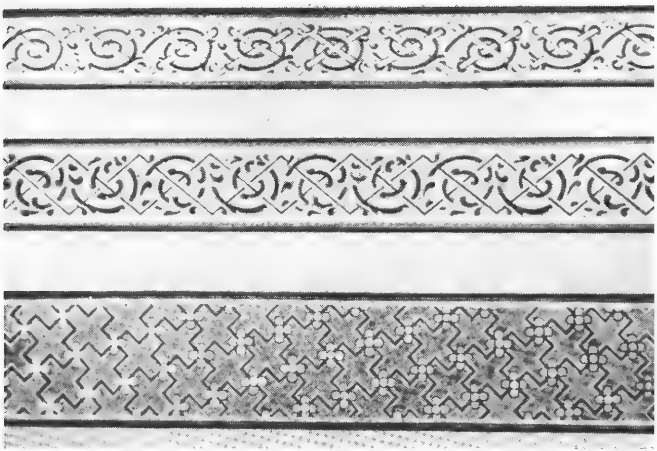
* *Khoshun*—large administrative territorial unit of pre-revolutionary Mongolia.



Samples of industrial art





National ornaments

foregoing statutes legislatively consolidated the abolition of the former khoshun rulers' rights to own land by succession, i.e., to own the khoshun territories. That put an end to the dependence of the arats on the former rulers of independent principalities, who until then alone had the power to permit or forbid the arats to migrate from one khoshun to another.

The special privileges allowing the serfs of spiritual feudal lords freely to move through the pastures most convenient to them were also abolished. In this respect, too, they were equalised with all arats. In the Statute of the Shabi approved by the government in 1923 this principle was expressed with extreme clarity. The state budget was used for ensuring the country's defence, as well as for economic and cultural reforms.

The People's Government carried out many important economic measures, including those of gradually weakening the positions of foreign trade capital in the domestic market by organising a trade system based on new, revolutionary-democratic principles.

In 1923 the governments of the U.S.S.R. and Mongolia signed the first mutually advantageous and equitable trade agreement.

From then on the share of the trade turnover with the U.S.S.R. in Mongolia's total foreign trade turnover systematically increased. At the same time the trade and consumer co-operatives established trade relations with American, Danish, German, British and other private foreign firms.

In 1924, by request of the Mongolian Government, the U.S.S.R. took part in organising on a joint-stock basis the Mongolian Trade and Industrial Bank which has played a particularly important part in strengthening the national trade, finance and credit system and in financing the needs of the state industrial and agricultural enterprises. All these measures helped to ensure the country's economic independence and to improve the conditions of the arats.

In 1923 the Central Committee of the Party mapped out measures for the long-term development of the country's economy, which were reflected in the decisions of the 2nd and 3rd congresses of the Party.

By 1924, i.e., when the people's republic was proclaimed, the country's cattle-breeding not only reached its pre-revolutionary level, but even considerably exceeded it.

In 1924, as the result of the revolutionary reforms carried out by the People's Government, the country's economy and the class structure of Mongolian society looked as follows:

Exempt from heavy feudal obligations and from the necessity of paying endless debts to foreign usurers the arats' husbandries were becoming small-scale commodity production economies. The arats, especially their well-to-do part, were increasingly in a better position freely to exchange animal products—wool, meat, hides, milk products—for consumer goods used for their own needs and sometimes for resale. Small-scale commodity production thus rapidly formed and subsequently prevailed in the country's economy.

The natural economy, which according to Lenin, is the most primitive form of agriculture and which on the eve of the revolution played an important part in Mongolia's economy, began, under the influence of small-scale commodity production, increasingly to submit to the effects of the market.

The feudal structure represented by feudal economies was already largely undermined by the liquidation of the political domination of the class of feudal lords and the serf relations, as well as by the anti-feudal measures carried out by the People's Government. No longer able to enrich themselves through the obligations, duties and unpaid labour of the serfs, state salaries and credits granted by foreign firms, these economies increasingly surrendered their former positions in the economic life of the country and gradually lost their feudal features. However, they continued to own large herds of cattle. Using hired labour and acting as profiteer-middlemen between foreign firms and the local population they assumed the character of large economies of a kulak type.

The feudal structure was also represented by monastery economies which likewise owned large herds of cattle. But they, too, fostered small-trade activity. It was no accident that by 1924 the number of merchants directly

associated with the feudal and monastery economies considerably increased.

Something new—an element of a socialist structure—appeared in the country's economy and the class structure of society. In the beginning it was represented by small nationalised industrial enterprises of a handicraft or semi-handicraft type formerly owned by foreign capital or the autonomous government, and by a state finance and credit system, trade and consumer co-operatives and embryos of state-owned agricultural enterprises (state crops, state herds).

Appearing in the ocean of a backward, diversified economy, the element of the socialist structure was still very weak, but it had a great future in solving the problems of the country's non-capitalist development.

Both the nationalised industrial enterprises and the consumer co-operatives were as yet unable satisfactorily to meet the requirements of the domestic market not only with goods of their own production, but even with goods imported through the Mongolian Central Co-operative Organisation (Moncencoop).

The leading part in the country's market was played by private foreign capital represented by hundreds of Chinese and scores of American, British, German and other foreign capitalist trading firms.

In 1924 the share of the trade turnover with private foreign capitalist firms amounted to 86.4 per cent of the country's total trade turnover.

After the victory of the revolution, ejection of the occupants from the country and consolidation of the people's democratic system, foreign capital tried its best to retain its position in the Mongolian market, supporting domestic reaction and encouraging the rising capitalist elements. Competing with the national trade and consumer co-operatives and taking advantage of the initial absence of a national currency the aforesaid foreign firms sabotaged the economic measures carried out by the People's Government. Their counter-action to these measures manifested itself particularly clearly in the attempts of the Chinese firms to recover from the population the old debts cancelled by the People's Government and to hinder the activities of the national trade co-operatives.

With the aid of foreign firms local capitalist elements also livened up their activities. Some Mongolian merchants had stores in Urga and carried out large trade transactions between the local population and foreign firms.

The interests of the developing national bourgeoisie were clearly expressed by Danzan who in 1923-24 was Deputy Prime Minister of the People's Government. By his actions he fostered the growth of capitalist elements despite the economic measures taken by the People's Government. Together with a number of people who shared his ideas Danzan even became a stockholder in a private capitalist motor transport company organised for transporting the goods of large Chinese and several Anglo-American firms along the Kalgan-Urga Highway.

On Danzan's instructions the debts cancelled by the People's Government were paid to the Chinese firms, while his followers tried jointly with representatives of a private Italian firm to launch private enterprises in Mongolia to the detriment of the Moncencoop. The Danzanites and other bourgeois and capitalist elements hindered customs reforms and helped to plant feudal and capitalist elements in the administration of the Moncencoop.

Considering the great danger the capitalist elements coming into existence constituted to the country's economic and political independence the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the People's Government untiringly strengthened the national trade and consumer co-operatives, unmasked the anti-popular actions of the hostile elements who tried to hamper the execution of the government's decisions, and imposed greater restrictions on foreign capitalist firms and local capitalist elements.

Taking into account the attempts of the feudal and capitalist elements to utilise the co-operatives in their own class interests the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party carried out necessary measures to improve the Party supervision of the co-operatives and to reinforce them with representatives of the arats.

This policy enjoyed the complete support of the arats because it answered the purpose of consolidating the sovereignty of the country and corresponded to the interests of the masses of the working people. The people insisted on expelling the hated foreign usurers from the country.

The working people became convinced through their own experience of the necessity of entirely liquidating the feudal economies and the foreign capitalist trading firms.

But the question that arose was "whither now"? Was the country to embark on the path to which it was drawn by the rising capitalist elements? This would have doomed the working people to new, capitalist exploitation and would finally have led to the loss of state independence and revival of colonial oppression. The arats had not fought for the victory of the revolution and the establishment of the people's power in order that the results of their struggle and victory should go to new exploiters.

The fundamental interests of the working people required consolidation of the freedom and state independence they had won, and an ensurance of a truly happy life.

How were these aims to be attained? The Mongolian people sought the answer to this question, raised by life itself, in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Marx, Engels and Lenin discovered the general regularities of development of the human society, the regularities of supersession of one social and economic formation by another. The Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific socialism is a teaching on the revolutionary transition of the human society from capitalism to socialism through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The main regularities of the construction of socialism common to all peoples, despite the multifarious historical and national peculiarities, are the leadership of the working class headed by its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist party, establishment of some form of dictatorship of the proletariat, union of the working class with the bulk of the peasantry, replacement of capitalist property by socialist, socialist transformation of agriculture, socialist industrialisation, planned development of the economy, socialist revolution in ideology and culture, defence of independence and socialism, and policy of proletarian internationalism.

Such is the most reliable way of securing state sovereignty and economic independence, of liquidating the economic and cultural backwardness inherited from the past, ensuring the well-being of the masses of the people and rapid social progress, and, in the end, creating a society in

which there is no exploitation of man by man. But in Mongolia of that time with its feudal economic formation inherited from the past there was neither a proletariat nor a bourgeoisie. Hence, the problems of the transitional period could not have been solved at once by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The question arose: could Mongolia in virtue of these circumstances develop in the direction of socialism? What class and what party should guide the transitional period under the conditions of pre-capitalist relations?

The answers to these questions were given by Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.; these answers were confirmed and enriched by Mongolia's own experience.

Marx, Engels and Lenin demonstrated the bankruptcy of the opportunists from the Second International and unmasked the ideologists of the bourgeoisie, who zealously repeated that capitalism was presumably a necessary stage in the development of all countries.

At the same time Marx, Engels and Lenin in no way denied the peculiarity of the forms and order of this development.

Studying capitalism in its imperialist epoch Lenin discovered the law of uneven economic and political development of capitalism. On the basis of this he arrived at the brilliant conclusion that the socialist revolution is not a single act, but a whole period during which the revolution matures in different countries at different times and with its own peculiarities. As early as 1916 Lenin spoke of the possibility of transition of backward countries to socialism with the aid of the proletariat of advanced countries. At that time he wrote: "We shall endeavour to render these nations, more backward and oppressed than we are, 'disinterested cultural assistance', to borrow the happy expression of the Polish Social-Democrats. In other words, we will help them pass to the use of machinery, to the lightening of labour, to democracy, to socialism."*

This undoubtedly also included the Mongolian people. Thus Lenin even then, before the October Revolution, foresaw the possibility for Mongolia's non-capitalist devel-

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 67.

opment with the aid of the victorious proletariat of Russia.

The Soviet people were the first to destroy the capitalist system, the first to create a state of working people and the first to pave the way to socialism. All the peoples of former tsarist Russia joined in the construction of socialism despite the considerable differences in their social and economic development. The law of non-capitalist development of backward countries toward socialism was for the first time successfully carried into effect in the formerly backward national areas of Soviet Russia (Kazakhstan, Central Asia, and many others). This experience attracted the attention of the Mongolian people and its foremost representatives.

The non-capitalist way of development is part of the single world revolutionary process; it is the transitional period of backward countries from pre-capitalist relations to socialism.

The non-capitalist and socialist ways have a unity of aims, a common direction of the social and economic process. But the non-capitalist way to socialism passes through a number of intermediate stages.

The Mongolian experience has shown the assertions that Marxism-Leninism is allegedly unacceptable to countries where neither a proletariat nor a bourgeoisie have as yet formed to be completely ungrounded.

The Mongolian experience has once more confirmed that the Marxist-Leninist teaching is the ideology not only of the working class, but also of its allies—the toiling peasants and the oppressed peoples who are waging a struggle for their liberation from the feudal and imperialist, i.e., the class and colonial, yoke.

On the basis of the experience of non-capitalist development of the eastern Soviet republics Lenin stated in his report to the Second Comintern Congress in 1920 that "with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage".*

After studying the experience of the eastern republics of the U.S.S.R. and analysing the country's political and economic conditions the Third Congress of the Mongolian

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 244.

People's Revolutionary Party, held in 1924, decided that the only acceptable and proper way for Mongolia was that of non-capitalist development. The second Programme of the Party adopted at its Fourth Congress in 1925 was based on this general line of non-capitalist development. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party had to surmount enormous difficulties connected with the country's economic and cultural backwardness. It was necessary to raise the level of the country's productive forces, get rid of feudalism and ensure defence of the revolutionary gains.

What was the actual basis for the choice of the non-capitalist way of development under the historical conditions of 1924-25? At that time Mongolia had neither an industry nor a proletariat. It had a one-sided economy of nomadic and extremely backward cattle-breeding, while the totally illiterate population was under a strong ideological influence of the Buddhist Church.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party adopted a general line of non-capitalist development on the basis of a number of real domestic and international factors. These factors were primarily:

the Party's political leadership of the country's non-capitalist development;

the existence of the people's democratic power;

the support of the international communist movement and the fraternal aid of the Soviet Russia's working class.

CHAPTER 2

THE PARTY AS THE LEADING AND ORGANISING FORCE OF THE NON-CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

In Mongolia there is only one party—the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party which came into existence as a party of the working people in 1921.

When the Party was being organised the following question arose: will this Party, peasant in its initial composition, be able to direct the non-capitalist development of the country toward socialism?

The Mongolian experience has shown that, if this Party expresses the fundamental interests of the oppressed class, if it correctly understands and skilfully applies the Marxist-Leninist teaching to pre-capitalist relations, it can readily become the leading and organising force of its country's non-capitalist development toward socialism.

Despite its motley composition the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party assumed from the very moment of its inception the leadership of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. The very first programme document of the aforementioned united revolutionary circles—the "Oath" taken in 1920—reflected the aim of the struggle, notably, the liberation of the masses of the working people from national and social oppression.

One of the advantages of the Mongolian revolutionaries was that they found a true class ally in the international working-class movement and Soviet Russia, the world's first socialist state.

As toiling peasants the Mongolian arats understood and sympathised with the ideas of the struggle of the interna-

tional working-class movement, the ideas of the world's first workers' and peasants' state.

The Mongolian revolutionaries with Sukhe Bator at their head considered it their first and foremost duty to establish an international union between the Mongolian arats and the international working-class movement through the Comintern and directly with the working class of Soviet Russia. The Mongolian delegates who came to the Land of Soviets in 1920 repeatedly met with representatives of the Comintern, the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Government. After telling them about the condition of the masses in their country they consulted them on the ways and means of the national and social liberation of their people. The Mongolian revolutionaries studied with the deepest interest the experience, methods and forms of the struggle of the proletariat, the toiling peasants and oppressed peoples of former tsarist Russia for the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the establishment of Soviet power.

Through their most enlightened people the Mongolian arats increasingly more deeply apprehended the ideas of the October Revolution, the experience of the struggle of the working class of Soviet Russia, the ideas of Soviet power. The People's Party created by the arat revolutionaries and headed by Sukhe Bator led the revolution by applying the ideas of the proletarian revolution to the complex, specific conditions of Mongolia.

The 1st Constituent Congress convoked on March 1, 1921, gave organisational shape to the People's Party as the leading force of the revolution, adopted a programme and elected a Central Committee. The decisions of the Congress and the first Programme determined the tasks of liberating the country from foreign occupants, of winning the state power by the arats and of subsequently doing away with social oppression. The Congress acknowledged that in the struggle for freedom and state independence the Mongolian people could achieve success only with the aid and support of the international working class represented by the Comintern and its shock detachment—the Communist Party of Soviet Russia.

The victory of the people's revolution of 1921 confirmed the correctness of the historic decisions of the 1st Congress

of the Party. By strengthening its ties with the international communist movement and consolidating its friendship and co-operation with the world's first socialist state the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (M.P.R.P.) ensured after the victory of the people's revolution the consolidation of the country's political independence, carried out revolutionary reforms of the Mongolian society and improved the material standards of the arats.

Carrying its first Programme into life the M.P.R.P. rallied the toiling arats and all progressive forces of Mongolian society, built a people's army and mobilised the masses for a decisive struggle against the foreign and domestic oppressors.

The Mongolian experience has convincingly demonstrated that, if a party consisting of progressive representatives of the toiling peasantry wants to become a truly Marxist party, it must primarily be built on Marxist-Leninist organisational and ideological principles of a proletarian party, which is the highest form of organisation of the militant vanguard of the working class.

The M.P.R.P., from its very inception, learned from the international communist movement to fight consistently for the real interests of the working people and, in evaluating the domestic and international situations, to act on the basis of their class interests.

An outstanding role in its organisational and ideological training was played by the unforgettable advice of Lenin, the leader of the world proletariat, given to Sukhe Bator and other members of the Mongolian delegation in November 1921.

Lenin, who had a very clear idea of the condition of the Mongolian people and who always sympathised with them, advised the Mongolian delegates constantly to strengthen the Party by recruiting working people, to secure the state independence they had won, to develop the national economy and culture in the interests of the working people, and to consolidate the friendship with the Soviet Union.

The programme documents of the M.P.R.P., particularly the second Programme, approved at the 4th Congress in 1925, show that the Party correctly mapped out the course of the country's development.

The Programme of 1925 outlined the main tasks aimed at carrying out the general line of the Party during the general democratic stage of development of the people's revolution, which lasted from 1921 to 1940.

Supported by the poor and middle arats the M.P.R.P. directed the abolition of the feudal and serfdom relations, and of the bondage to foreign usurers and trade capital, which considerably raised the living standards of the masses of arats. The Party devoted constant attention to consolidating the state sovereignty. The accomplishment of these tasks of the general democratic stage of the revolution resulted in the liquidation of the class of feudal lords and the estate of the clergy (lamas) and in the emergence of an entirely new (for Mongolia) class—a national working class—and a qualitatively new intelligentsia—a working, national intelligentsia.

In connection with this the third Programme of the Party, aimed at laying the foundations for socialist construction, was adopted at the 10th Congress of the M.P.R.P. in 1940. This historic document emphasised that the "policy of the Mongolian People's Republic is aimed at a final uprooting of the survivals of feudalism in the country's economy, at ridding the minds of the people of these survivals, at ensuring the country's non-capitalist development and at preparing for a subsequent transition to socialism".*

The formation and growth of the national working class gave rise to its union with the toiling arats, which, growing increasingly stronger, came to form the political basis of the People's Democracy. Owing to this the people's power gradually developed from a peculiar revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the toiling arats into a dictatorship of the working class. This dictatorship ensured the country's non-capitalist development and the construction of socialism.

The tasks of consummating the construction of socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic were determined by a new, the fourth Programme of the M.P.R.P. adopted at its 15th Congress in 1966.

Thus the tasks of each concrete stage of the development of the revolution, both in the past and the present,

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* *Modern Mongolia* No. 1-2, 1940, Ulan Bator, p. 80.

find their expression in the Party's programme documents. On the basis of the theory of scientific communism and its own very extensive experience, as well as the experience of struggle of the international communist, working-class and national liberation movements, the M.P.R.P. is working out the revolutionary tactics, i.e., the ways and means of struggling for the realisation of the aims of the Programme. Lenin wrote: "Without a programme a party cannot be an integral political organism capable of pursuing its line whatever turn events may take."*

At each new stage of the country's historical development amendments were also introduced into the Party Rules. The Party Programme and Rules embody its basic aim, organisational principles and norms of Party life.

For all members and candidate-members of the M.P.R.P. the Programme is the general line, and the Rules are their moral code. Every member and candidate-member not only recognises the Programme and the Rules, but also belongs to and works in one of the Party primary organisations, carries out all its decisions and in due time pays his membership dues.

The M.P.R.P. continuously improves its leadership of the struggle of the masses and the inner-Party democracy, and enhances the role and political consciousness of its members.

Organisationally and ideologically the M.P.R.P. was hardened by the experience of the struggle of the working people of its own country, as well as that of the Comintern and its vanguard—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the forms and methods of its activities directed toward achieving its aims changing in accordance with the new requirements and with due regard for the peculiarities of each historical period.

In its organisational structure the M.P.R.P. strictly adheres to the principle of democratic centralism which, in the first place, means election of all the leading Party bodies, from top to bottom, periodic accounting of the Party bodies to their Party organisations, i.e., the Party membership, subordination of the minority to the majority, unconditional obligatoriness of the decisions of the higher bodies

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 280.

for the lower ones, proper combination of collective leadership with personal responsibility and strict Party discipline.

The M.P.R.P. attaches paramount importance to continuously enhancing the role of the personal example of Party members. It has always believed that the higher the leading role of a Party member in work, as well as in everyday and public life, the more substantial the successes in the construction of socialism. Every Party member must justify his high appellation by personal behaviour and activity. Indeed, surmounting great difficulties in the struggle for carrying the Party Programme into life, the members of the M.P.R.P. set examples of serving the homeland.

The M.P.R.P. attaches considerable importance to controlling the fulfilment of its directives. The broadest masses of the Party membership take part in this work.

One of the most important methods of drawing the masses into managing the economy and governing the state, and a powerful agency of the conscious influence of the people on the course of social development is criticism and self-criticism, which the Party considers the motive power of the socialist society. At the same time the M.P.R.P. censures any and all perversion of businesslike criticism and any action aimed against the general line and unity of the Party.

The M.P.R.P. has always been concerned with the purity of its own ranks and with recruiting poor peasants and representatives of the newly rising working class. As a result the composition of the Party has continuously improved. Whereas in 1945 poor arats and workers numbered 26.9 per cent of its membership, in 1955 their number rose, according to the Statistical Board of the Mongolian People's Republic, to 42.3 per cent. By 1966 the number of workers belonging to the Party increased to 29.6 per cent and that of the members of agricultural associations (ACAs) to 21.5 per cent of the Party membership, while employees and other representatives of the intelligentsia numbered 48.9 per cent.*

* See Y. Tsedenbal, "Report of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party to the 15th Congress of the M.P.R.P.", *15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party*, Eng. ed., Ulan Bator, 1967.

In 1925, 1929 and 1930 the Party purged its ranks of alien and accidental elements, of those who by their anti-Party deeds grossly violated the Party Programme and Rules.

The M.P.R.P. has always educated its members and all working people of Mongolia in the spirit of revolutionary ideology of the working class, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. In its activity the Party guides itself by Lenin's dictum to the effect that without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement, that "the *role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory*".*

All of the practical work of the M.P.R.P. is based on the indestructible foundation of Marxism-Leninism which is an integral and harmonious system of philosophic, economic, social and political knowledge. The third Programme of the M.P.R.P. adopted at its 10th Congress in 1940 reads: "The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party guides the struggle of the Mongolian people by the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, regarding them as the only true science."

During the first years following the victory of the revolution the country lacked people familiar with Marxism, and under the conditions of class stratification of the arats, the existence of a dense network of monasteries and penetration of capitalist ideology into Mongolia it often happened that individual persons, including members of the M.P.R.P., fell under petty-bourgeois influence. The latter was manifested primarily in nationalism, Right opportunist or Leftist perversions of the Party line, and other forms of petty-bourgeois vacillations. All these anti-Party tendencies were censured by the Party at its congresses and plenary meetings of the Central Committee.

The M.P.R.P. always sees to it that its members should acquire the correct materialist ideas about the surrounding world, learn the laws of social development and be able to apply them in practice.

The Party is training a large number of junior and senior specialists for Party, state, economic, trade union, youth and other organisations, specialists armed with knowledge of Marxism-Leninism which is the prevalent

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* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 370.

ideology in Mongolian society. In addition to the core subjects the history and literature of the Mongolian people are studied in secondary and higher schools and at different courses. The M.P.R.P. orients the scientific intelligentsia to working out, from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, the problems of history, literature, the state, law and economics, and to studying the manifestations of the general regularities of socialism under the specific conditions of Mongolia's non-capitalist development.

The political and educational and mass propaganda work of the Party is aimed at raising the cultural standards, enhancing the political consciousness and improving the labour efforts of all the working people.

In the cultural and educational work the progressive traditions of the people are widely utilised. At the same time a struggle is waged against the backward views and customs not by the method of mere injunction, however, but by patient explanation of their harm.

The M.P.R.P. is always devoting a good deal of attention to educating the Party members in the spirit of proletarian internationalism combined with socialist patriotism

The Programme and directives of the Party are studied by all its members and are explained to the broad masses of the working people. The M.P.R.P. also popularises the programmes and decisions of the international communist movement, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties. The Central Committee sees to it that the classics of Marxism-Leninism are translated into and published in the Mongolian language and that the Marxist-Leninist theory is studied in the system of Party education. Extensive and diverse work is carried on to develop socialist consciousness in the working people, especially to educate them in the spirit of careful treatment of social property, a conscientious attitude to work, consciousness of their duty to society and the necessity of increasing the social wealth for the welfare of the whole people. An important part in the ideological education of the Mongolian working people is played by the Party press and popular-science literature. The printed word is in increasingly greater measure reaching the masses of the people, bringing the socialist ideas to them and mobilising them for active political and labour endeavours.

Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the M.P.R.P. and Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the Mongolian People's Republic

The socialist ideology has become the basis of the spiritual life of the Mongolian people. The steady rise in the socialist consciousness of the working people engenders intensive labour endeavours, creative initiative and mass socialist emulation.

The M.P.R.P. has courageously corrected the mistakes and shortcomings in its work, resolutely doing away with the petty-bourgeois Right-wing opportunist deviation that developed in its ranks in 1926-28. Reflecting the interests of the former feudal lords and capitalist elements the Right-wing deviationists tried to play up to the capitalist countries and undermine the Soviet-Mongolian friendship. True to Marxism-Leninism and their general line the sound revolutionary forces of the M.P.R.P. unmasked the Right-wing opportunists and upheld the country's non-capitalist development. The Party line was also perverted by "Leftists" who had got into the leadership of the M.P.R.P. in 1929-32. The "Leftists" perverted the differentiated class policy of the Party, without any reason equating the well-to-do part of arats to feudal and kulak elements. Ignoring the concrete historical conditions under which the country was developing they decided to speed up the co-operation of the arats, disregarding the fact that at that time Mongolia did not as yet have the appropriate political, material and cultural prerequisites.

This break-away from reality could have resulted in blunders of which the reactionary elements would undoubtedly have taken advantage in their own interests.

The Extraordinary Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the M.P.R.P. held in 1932 condemned the anti-Party deviation of the Left-wing leadership, correctly analysed the specific conditions of the country and restored the general Party line of non-capitalist development. The Plenum noted that in consequence of the Leftist measures "which did not correspond to the economic and cultural state of the country, as a result of ignoring the national peculiarities and of pursuing a wrong policy the Party drew away from its support—the toiling arats, antagonised a considerable part of them and of the well-to-do strata, thereby driving them toward the counter-revolutionary feudal lords and the reactionary lama leadership".

The Party elaborated and carried out measures to support the initiative of individual arats aimed at developing cattle-breeding, as well as measures envisaging restrictions for capitalist elements and development of the socialist sector in the national economy.

But in carrying out these measures the M.P.R.P. encountered a new manifestation of a Right-wing opportunist deviation headed by former Prime Minister Gendun who did his utmost to minimise the leading role of the Party, perverted the general line of the M.P.R.P. with respect to the economies of the higher lamas and capitalist elements.

Moreover, proceeding from their mercenary and careerist motives the Gendunovites began to violate the revolutionary law and the socialist democracy, without any reason prosecuting innocent people on the basis of slanderous charges.

The 1936 Plenum of the Central Committee of the M.P.R.P. exposed Gendun's criminal actions, dismissed him from all posts and smashed the Right-wing, opportunist, anti-Party group.

In 1936-39 serious mistakes were made by H. Choibalsan, one of the noted revolutionaries who enjoyed great confidence of the Party and the people. He was involved in violations of revolutionary law. The M.P.R.P. corrected also these mistakes and objectively evaluated the merits and demerits, the good and bad aspects of Choibalsan's activities.

The Party's consistent struggle against the petty-bourgeois opportunist deviations and various perversions ensured its ideological, organisational and political consolidation.

The M.P.R.P. has always leaned upon the experience and support of the entire international communist movement. Immediately after its organisation the Party established revolutionary relations with the international communist movement through the Comintern, taking part in its work with deliberative functions, and with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Representatives of the M.P.R.P. repeatedly participated in the congresses of the Comintern and the sessions of its Executive Committee, as well as the congresses of the C.P.S.U. Representatives of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and the C.P.S.U. in their turn took part in the

work of the most important congresses of the M.P.R.P. and its plenary sessions, which has enabled our Party to make use of the experience of the fraternal Communist Parties.

Since the establishment of the world socialist system the connections between the M.P.R.P. and the other parties have continuously expanded and strengthened. The mutual participation in party congresses, the meetings of the representatives of the M.P.R.P. with those of the other fraternal parties, and the participation of delegations of the M.P.R.P. in the conferences of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957-60 have enriched the M.P.R.P. with the extensive experience of the theoretical and practical activities of the international communist movement.

The M.P.R.P. is waging, together with the other fraternal parties, a struggle for rallying still more closely the ranks of the international communist and working-class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960 adopted at the Moscow Meetings of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Party has been struggling at all stages of the country's development for carrying into life the main line of the foreign policy of the Mongolian People's Republic—the policy of peace and friendship among the peoples, observance of each other's sovereignty, equality and mutual advantage.

The M.P.R.P. consistently directs the foreign policy of the Mongolian People's Republic toward union and friendship with the socialist countries and international solidarity with the working classes of the capitalist states and the oppressed peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. The M.P.R.P. and all its members deem it their supreme international duty to be true to the great banner of Marxism-Leninism to the very end, to wage a consistent struggle against opportunists of every stripe and advocate increasingly greater solidarity of the militant detachments of Communists of all countries for the triumph of the cause of socialism and communism.

The M.P.R.P. is now maintaining fraternal relations with more than 60 Communist and Workers' Parties. It is steadily

developing and consolidating its ties of close co-operation with the great Party of Lenin—the C.P.S.U., and the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries. It is still more extensively exchanging delegations and information with the Communist and revolutionary-democratic parties of other countries.

In determining and pursuing its domestic and foreign policies the M.P.R.P. has always based itself on the fundamental interests of the working people, on the aim of abolishing the exploitation of man by man and of building a classless socialist society.

In determining the tasks of the struggle for the victory of the people's revolution, in carrying out measures aimed at abolishing the class of feudal lords and driving the foreign capitalists out of the country, in pursuing its taxation policy, in granting credits and in elaborating the electoral system at different periods of the country's development the Party always proceeded from the class interests of the toilers—poor and middle peasants, farm labourers and the emerging working class.

In 1921-24 the people's power abolished the rights of the secular and ecclesiastic feudal lords to own arat serfs and large estates, freed the arats from serfdom, annulled the feudal obligations and duties, and cancelled the state and private debts to foreign firms, merchants and usurers, the entire burden of which was borne by the arats.

In order further to raise the living standards of the arats, the personal fortunes of the bogdo-gegen (after his death) and of individual khans were transferred to the ownership of the state. The state began to impose progressive income taxes on the feudal and monastery economies at the same time granting considerable tax privileges to the poor and middle peasants.

The M.P.R.P. has always guided itself by the Leninist propositions that the proletariat needs the Party not only to win political power, but even more so during the period of construction of socialism and communism.

One of the most important Leninist principles of party leadership in economic construction, permeating all of the party's practical activities, is the principle of combining party-political and party-organisational work with economic work.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has ensured proper leadership in establishing a socialist sector in the national economy by organising and developing a new branch of agriculture—cropping, developing the national industry, communications and transport, and co-operating agriculture, i.e., it has ensured the victory of socialist production relations in all of the country's economy.

The M.P.R.P. correctly determines the main, most important link in the chain of economic construction at each new stage of the country's movement toward socialism.

Owing to the correct leadership of the M.P.R.P. Mongolia has avoided the long and painful stage of capitalist development and has effected an historic transition from feudalism to socialism.

Guiding itself by the Marxist-Leninist teaching in all its activities and creatively applying this teaching to the peculiar conditions of its country the M.P.R.P. has become the recognised leader and organiser of the struggle of the Mongolian working people for the non-capitalist development of the country towards socialism, for consolidating and improving the People's Democracy, for ensuring the country's industrialisation, voluntary socialist co-operation of agriculture, for carrying out a cultural revolution and raising the material and cultural standards of the broad masses of the people. Today the M.P.R.P. is directing the struggle of its people towards creating a material and technical basis of socialism, towards completing the construction of socialist society.

Having travelled the long, complex and glorious path from a small illegal circle of revolutionaries to the ruling party the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has become the fighting vanguard of the Mongolian people successfully building socialism.

CHAPTER 3

ROLE OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER IN THE COUNTRY'S NON-CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

The Provisional People's Government set up on March 13, 1921, in the course of the people's revolution, was the body that headed the armed uprising against the foreign occupants and their allies—the domestic reactionaries. Under the leadership of the M.P.R.P. it carried out extensive work of organising and strengthening the People's Liberation Army, organising the popular masses in the struggle for the victory of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, and establishing military, political and economic relations with Soviet Russia. It was the Provisional People's Government that officially appealed to the Soviet Government for military aid. After the liberation of Urga, the country's capital, by combined forces of the Mongolian People's Army and the Red Army the Provisional People's Government assumed full power in the country. But since not all of the country was as yet freed from the Ungernites and in view of the implicit faith of the broad masses in bogdo-gegen—the head of the Lamaist Church in Mongolia—the people's power existed until the end of 1924 as a limited monarchy, the arats exercising, as the ruling class, their dictatorship over the overthrown class of feudal lords.

During 1921-24 the M.P.R.P. and the People's Government strengthened the country's defence potential, broke down the old feudal machinery of state and organised the economic and cultural life in the interests of the arats.

The First Great People's Khural held in November 1924 discussed the results of the three years of activity of the people's power and the prospects for the country's non-capitalist development, and adopted the First Constitution of the Republic, which, by legislatively consolidating the gains of the revolution, officially confirmed the declaration of Mongolia a People's Republic and proclaimed the land and its entrails to be the people's, i.e., state property.

Step by step the People's Democracy was consolidated in the form of arat khurals, both in the centre and locally.

Could a peasant power discharge the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in accomplishing the tasks of transition from feudalism to socialism?

The Mongolian experience answers this question affirmatively. It has fully confirmed that peasants who have assumed state power can very well master the ideas of dictatorship of the proletariat and apply them under the leadership of their Marxist party even under the most complex specific conditions of historical development of any particular country.

The Mongolian experience has brilliantly confirmed the correctness of the proposition suggested by Lenin at the Second Congress of the Comintern to the effect that "the idea of Soviet organisation is a simple one, and is applicable, not only to proletarian, but also to peasant feudal and semi-feudal relations".*

The dictatorship of the toiling arats headed by the M.P.R.P. and supported by the Soviet working class and the international communist movement successfully accomplished the tasks of the general democratic stage of the revolution. It discharged the functions characteristic of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry.

The emergence of the national working class led to the formation of its union with the arats. This union formed the basis of the country's social development towards socialism. As the tasks of socialist construction increased, the leading role of the working class, which in union with the toiling arats discharged the functions of dictatorship of the proletariat, also increased.

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* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 243.

Today "the Mongolian People's Republic is a socialist state of workers, co-operating arats (cattle-breeders and croppers) and working intelligentsia based on the union of the working class with the co-operating arats".*

Expressing the fundamental interests of the class of toiling arats and the emerging workers the people's power discharged its functions in accordance with the tasks of the two main stages of the people's revolution, while the people's state was steadily developing and improving as a People's Democracy.

The main and firm principle of the foreign policy of the Mongolian People's Republic has always been peace and friendship among the peoples. According to an old Mongolian saying, "There is no end to knowledge and there is no limit to friendship."

Even the decision to set up a Provisional People's Government, adopted as far back as 1921, contained the idea of establishing friendly relations with Soviet Russia and China. In March 1921 the People's Government appealed to the Chinese Communists and all Chinese people's revolutionary forces to establish good-neighbour relations and act jointly against world imperialism. The declarations and other documents of the People's Government issued in 1921 expressed its complete readiness to establish equal and friendly economic and cultural relations with all countries regardless of their social systems. However, these peaceable aspirations of the Mongolian people's state, aimed at safeguarding the peace in the Far East and throughout the world, found complete support only on the part of the Soviet socialist state.

The friendship with Soviet Russia and extensive Soviet assistance served as the basis for safeguarding and consolidating the sovereignty of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Mongolia's state independence was frequently threatened by Chinese militarists and Japanese imperialists. That is why, to defend the country and ensure the inviolability of its borders extending for more than 4,000 km, it was necessary to spend a large part of the state budget (sometimes 50-60 per cent). For military service it was necessary

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* *Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic,* Ulan Bator, 1961, p. 5.

Zh. Sambu, Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural

to enlist large contingents of youth, the country's main working elements.

From the very beginning of the revolution the people's power strengthened the country's defences, continuously increased its armed forces, and always concerned itself with improving their combat and political training on the basis of studying the extensive revolutionary experience of the heroic Red Army. At the same time the civil population was given military training and was prepared for self-defence. Here, too, the assistance of the U.S.S.R. proved of paramount importance; it was rendered through deliveries of arms, sending of military specialists to Mongolia and training personnel for the Mongolian Army in Soviet military schools. All this seriously strengthened the country's defence potential and enhanced the fighting efficiency of the People's Army.

In 1935-36 and 1939, when the Japanese militarists began systematically to provoke military conflicts in the border areas of Khalkhin-sum and Bulan-ders, the Mongolian People's Army demonstrated that it was prepared and fit to repel the onslaught of the enemy and to uphold the sovereignty of its country.

During those uneasy days of immediate threat to the country's independence the Mongolian people did not feel deserted.

In 1936 the following statement of the Soviet Government sounded throughout the world: "If Japan decides to attack the Mongolian People's Republic, thereby encroaching upon her independence, we shall have to help the Mongolian People's Republic.... We shall help the Mongolian People's Republic as we helped her in 1921."

The protocol on mutual assistance signed between the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic following this statement on March 12, 1936, served as a reliable guarantee of the Republic's independence.

In view of the aggravation of the tension on the country's eastern borders the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic took a number of urgent measures, namely: it prolonged the term of military service from two to three years and allocated additional large sums for the maintenance and equipment of the army. Whereas in 1934 the expenditures on the country's defence amounted

to 34.7 per cent of the state budget, in 1938 they increased to 52.5 per cent. The technical equipment of the People's Army was also sharply improved.

In 1939 large Japanese military formations possessing the best equipment for that time invaded the territory of Mongolia in the vicinity of Khalkhin-gol.

True to its friendship and commitments the Red Army came to the aid of the Mongolian people in good time. After dealing the enemy a number of crushing blows, the Soviet-Mongolian troops surrounded the Japanese group at the end of August 1939 and completely liquidated it.

On September 15, 1939, an agreement on terminating the military conflict in the vicinity of Khalkhin-gol was signed in Moscow between the Mongolian People's Republic, the U.S.S.R. and Japan. In accordance with this agreement all hostilities were terminated at 2:00 p.m., September 16.

During the Second World War the Mongolian People's Republic was resolutely on the side of all peace-loving and progressive forces which fought fascism.

On August 10, 1945, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, in accordance with its commitments issuing from the protocol on mutual assistance signed between the Mongolian People's Republic and the U.S.S.R. on March 12, 1936, and desirous of contributing to the cause of the united nations, declared war on Japan. Fighting together with the Red Army the Mongolian troops actively participated in the struggle against the Japanese militarists who for decades had threatened the independence of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Since the formation of a world socialist system after the end of the Second World War, the international relations of the Mongolian People's Republic have been steadily expanding.

The Mongolian People's Republic supported the idea of setting up the United Nations Organisation, advocates lasting peace and opposes the outbreak of a new war. The Republic has established friendly relations with the People's Democracies.

On June 20, 1946, the Mongolian People's Republic applied to UNO for admission to this international organisation, but its lawful entry into UNO was for many years

hindered by the Chiang Kai-shek nationalistic clique, the American imperialists and other reactionary forces.

As the result of the resolute support by the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies (U.N. members), as well as the solidarity of many peaceable Asian, African, European and Latin American countries, the Mongolian People's Republic was admitted in 1961 to its merited membership in the United Nations Organisation.

As a member of the U.N. the Mongolian People's Republic advocates, together with the socialist and all other peace-loving countries, general and complete disarmament, prohibition of the proliferation and use of thermonuclear and other weapons of mass annihilation, peaceful settlement of military conflicts, strengthening of friendly relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence with all countries, and support of the national liberation struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The Mongolian People's Republic is now maintaining diplomatic relations with some 40 countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe, including Great Britain, France, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, etc.

Working out the problem of non-capitalist development of the formerly backward peoples of the U.S.S.R. Lenin indicated the necessity of skilfully applying the policy and tactics of the Party in the republics of the Soviet East in accordance with their different historical and economic conditions. He wrote: "If 'we' are successfully to solve the problem of our immediate transition to socialism, we must understand what *intermediary* paths, methods, means and instruments are required for the transition from *pre-capitalist* relations to socialism."*

Proceeding from these Leninist propositions the M.P.R.P. and the People's Government tackled the tasks of the country's development in accordance with the concrete historical conditions of the different stages of development of the people's revolution, the main problems always being brought to the foreground and simultaneous attention being devoted to urgent everyday problems. The immediate tasks of the different stages of the country's historical development were accomplished with due regard for the peculiarities of each period.

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 349.

The non-capitalist development of the Mongolian People's Republic proceeded through a number of intermediate stages which in their turn were divided into two main stages, namely, the general democratic (1921-40) and the socialist (since 1941). In 1960 the socialist stage entered into a new period—the period of consummation of socialist construction.

The transition from feudalism to socialism in Mongolia was effected through discharging tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution with a simultaneous gradual development of the prerequisites for socialist construction, especially in industry, the transport and communications. The basic social problems issuing from the class contradictions between the arats and the feudal lords were solved during the first stage, special attention being at the same time devoted to consolidating the country's independence and the people's democratic system.

During this stage the main domestic functions of the people's power consisted in suppressing the resistance of the overthrown class, as well as in economic and cultural construction.

The People's Government has always been very vigilant against the domestic reactionary forces which acted in concert with the imperialists against the state independence, people's power and interests of their own people. In Mongolia's history there were quite a number of instances when foreign imperialists tried to use the domestic reaction to their own advantage. On the other hand, in their attempts to recover their lost power, privileges and economic positions, the domestic reactionaries relied on foreign imperialists for support. As the foreign threat to the Republic increased the domestic reactionaries consolidated their forces and organised various plots and acts of sabotage against the people's power.

Thus at the end of 1929 the counter-revolutionaries headed by Yugodzyr-khutukhta, an ecclesiastic feudal lord, took advantage of the tense situation in the Far East, particularly the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway, for open anti-popular action. Other ecclesiastic, as well as secular, feudal lords were inveigled into the plot. However, the plotters were in due time unmasked and rendered harmless. The counter-revolutionary armed uprisings stirred

up by the reactionary ringleaders of the lamas in the Tugsbuyant and Budanch monasteries in the beginning of 1930 and in some western aimaks in 1932 were also suppressed.

The domestic reaction also tried to take advantage of the mistakes in the work of local authorities, the shortcomings in economic and cultural construction, superstitions, backward views and certain traditions. But supported by the political activities of the working people the people's power unmasked in good time the domestic reactionaries and revealed their anti-patriotic essence to the people. Violence had to be used in the struggle against these forces in accordance with the extent of their resistance and the character of the crimes they committed, but this violence was a forced measure necessitated by the resistance of the overthrown classes.

Still the main function of the state was the solution of social problems and economic and cultural construction in the interests of the working people. The people's power had to surmount enormous difficulties connected with the country's age-old economic and cultural backwardness, the prevalence of extensive nomadic cattle-breeding, and the absence of modern productive forces and a working class.

Actively supported by the poor and middle arats and guided by the M.P.R.P. the government carried out, under conditions of a sharp class struggle, deep social and economic measures aimed at eradicating the survivals of feudal relations and at democratising social life.

The problem of confiscating the property of feudal lords was extraordinarily important and was therefore discussed at a M.P.R.P. congress and at a session of the Great People's Khural. Detailed instructions, explanatory articles and other informative materials worked out by the Central Committee of the Party and the People's Government were published in this connection. For the actual confiscations of the feudal economies central and local committees were organised; the committees consisted of representatives of arats—former serfs, poor and middle arats, representatives of central and local authorities, Party, youth and other public organisations. They did extensive work, indicating at meetings of arats the persons whose property was to be confiscated, keeping accounts of the confiscated property

and ensuring its proper distribution, eliciting facts of concealment of property by feudal lords, etc.

Thus, supported by an unprecedented political upsurge of the arat masses and their participation in the expropriations, the people's power confiscated during the autumn of 1929 and the winter of 1929-30 about 600 estates owned by big feudal lords.* One part of the cattle and property was transferred to agricultural co-operatives, and the other part was distributed among poor individual arats. The confiscations continued in 1930 and 1931. More than 1,100 estates of secular and ecclesiastic feudal lords were confiscated by April 1932.

Another important measure carried out in 1930-31 and dealing a telling blow at the economic positions of the ecclesiastic feudal lords were the campaigns of exacting taxes from the monastery estates and of establishing stable wages for farm labourers and the poor for grazing monastery herds, in order to safeguard them against brutal exploitation.

By its resourceful class policy the state ensured an improvement in the material conditions of the farm labourers and poor arats, made the production of the bulk of arat farms more marketable, and limited the participation of capitalist elements in the economy and trade. The taxation policy was also a regulating factor in weakening the economic power of the feudal estates, limiting the growth of capitalist elements and raising the living standards of the toiling arats. For example, according to the law passed in 1933, the taxes on weak farms were considerably reduced, the poor farms were completely exempt from taxes, while the rich farms were taxed in accordance with their incomes.

Special attention was devoted to crediting the cattle-breeding arats. In two years—1932-34—alone the credit granted to the arats increased more than tenfold, at least 50 per cent of the loans being given to poor arats.

Private arat initiative, which fostered the development of cattle-breeding, was not only encouraged, but was also supported by the state.

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* The large feudal estates subject to expropriation numbered a total of 729.

To reduce and subsequently eradicate epizootics, which caused the arats great losses, serious attention was devoted to the development of veterinary medicine. A widely ramified network of veterinary and research institutions was established at the expense of the state. This has served as a guarantee against mass epizootics. The state has extensively helped the arats to provide the cattle with warm housing, enlarge the network of wells, especially on waterless pastures, and lay in more hay required for feeding cattle during the critical winter and spring months when the natural grass resources at the pastures diminish.

In 1937 the U.S.S.R. presented Mongolia with 10 machine-and-hay-mowing stations having 50 tractors, 550 hay mowers, 325 horse rakes, 25 presses, 10 oil engines, 10 mobile repair shops and 15 lorries for mechanising the hay-harvesting. Soviet specialists sent to the Mongolian People's Republic trained national workers to operate the machines. By 1938 the capacity of these stations considerably increased. They now had 107 tractors, 822 hay mowers, 540 horse rakes, 97 presses, 19 mobile repair shops, 10 oil engines, 31 lorries and 11 motorcars.

As a result of these measures the cattle stock began rapidly to increase, growing from 13,800,000 head in 1924 to 23,300,000 head in 1937, i.e., 69 per cent.

The cattle stock was also redistributed among different social classes and groups. For example, in 1937 the arats owned 99.6 per cent of the total stock.

Thus the working people saw that the revolution gave them not only political rights, but also considerable material wealth and a high cultural level.

The people's state successfully solved the problems of ensuring the country's economic independence.

The elimination of the trading enterprises of capitalist countries required under the Mongolian conditions more than ten years. This was not done all at once, but by a series of successive measures, notably, by cancelling the debts to foreign firms, introducing a system of duties and taxes, closing down and prohibiting the operations of firms which, by violating the laws, operated to the detriment of the state.

A decisive role in gaining and consolidating economic independence by people's Mongolia was played by the

consumer co-operatives organised with the aid of the Soviet Union, the state financial, credit and trading system, the introduction of a national currency, the establishment and development of a state and co-operative industry, modern transport and communications. The concentration of the key economic positions in the hands of the state set up the requisite conditions for undermining the economic power of the feudal lords, as well as for restricting and eliminating the emerging capitalist elements.

By the end of 1929 the trading enterprises of capitalist countries controlled 9.8 per cent of the Republic's import and 26 per cent of its export.

In 1930 the Mongolian People's Republic adopted the system of state foreign trade monopoly and in 1934 more than 80 per cent of the country's commodity circulation was in the hands of the state and co-operative trade. This provided the necessary prerequisites for supplanting the enterprises of capitalist countries still operating in the country's trade.

The industrial enterprises nationalised by the People's Government were considerably enlarged; in 1933 construction of new enterprises began.

Thus during the first stage of the revolution the class of feudal lords was abolished and the trading enterprises of capitalist countries were finally eliminated from the country's trade. At the same time a new social force—a working class—appeared.

Enormous successes were achieved in the sphere of culture, notably, a new intelligentsia came into existence, while education, art and literature attained considerable development.

The feudal and natural systems of economy were abolished, while the socialist system considerably expanded and gained strength. Small-scale commodity production prevailed only in agriculture. As was already mentioned, owing to the help of the Party and the government, the bulk of the arats became rather well to do. The kulak part of arats used hired labour, but their further development was regulated by the policy of the people's state, its taxation system in particular.

By that time two sectors had formed in the country's economy, namely, a socialist sector represented by state

State Emblem of the Mongolian People's Republic

State Flag of the Mongolian People's Republic

and co-operative enterprises in industry, the transport, communications and trade, and a small-scale commodity production sector represented by arat economics.

The people's state guarded the inviolability of the public property—state industry, nationalised lands with their resources, state agricultural enterprises, the bank, means of communication and co-operative property. It supervised the development of both sectors, giving all possible support to the socialist sector into which it introduced the principles of stocktaking, accounting and planning.

These social changes which had occurred in the life of society were generalised in the historic decisions of the 10th Congress of the M.P.R.P. The third Party Programme adopted at this Congress read: "Whereas the bourgeois revolution replaced feudal exploitation by bourgeois exploitation, the people's revolution, which abolished the feudal system of Mongolia, opened another way to Mongolia—non-capitalist way, because it occurred in a different historical epoch, an epoch when the peoples of the oppressed countries and the working people of the world had already had the experience of the victorious October Socialist Revolution in Russia, which had awakened the broad masses of the toiling arats and inspired them to a revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist and feudal oppression."

The people's democratic power in the form of khurals ensured, as a result of its peaceful development into the dictatorship of the working class, the construction of socialism.

The socialist stage of development of the Mongolian People's Republic consisted mainly in consolidation of the socialist sectors, more intensive and extensive industrialisation, replacement of private property in agriculture by socialist property through co-operation of individual peasants, and the cultural revolution. During the socialist stage of the revoluion the Mongolian people further consolidated the state and co-operative sectors in the national economy and developed them on the basis of long-term planning and utilising the economic laws of socialism.

However, the Mongolian People's Republic could not begin all-round construction of socialism immediately after 1940 in view of the unfavourable international situation.

During the Second World War the Republic had to use the bulk of its resources for defence, for maintenance and equipment of the army, for which reason the possibilities of financing industry, agriculture and cultural construction were limited. Nor did the Republic have sufficient skilled personnel.

Thus the construction of the Ulan Bator Railway planned for the beginning of the 1940s was postponed to after the war. The construction of a large meat-packing plant begun in 1941 was completed only in the first post-war year.

Nevertheless, the People's Government mobilised all internal resources and, using every available opportunity, achieved considerable successes in the development of the economy and culture during the war.

After the historic victory of the great Soviet people and the formation of the world socialist system, the construction of socialism in Mongolia gained momentum.

During twenty post-war years the national economy and culture developed at a rapid rate. During this period the tasks of socialist construction—industrialisation, co-operation of the arats and the cultural revolution—were accomplished more fully and successfully.

The development of the people's democracy through enlisting the masses of working people in governing the state has been a matter of the Party's and government's constant attention and special concern.

During the very first months after the victory of the revolution working people were drawn into the administration of the state. At that time, while employing some old officials, the government successively dismissed the most reactionary officials and did its best to control the activities of the old apparatus of khoshun and aimak officials, at the same time making it a practice of electing khoshun authorities. The arats and local organisations of the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League (M.R.Y.L.) displayed initiative in dismissing clearly reactionary khoshun authorities and in organising elections of worthy representatives of the working people. This usually occurred at the time of traditional transfer of power by heredity or in connection with hostile actions of princes against the people's power.

The press of the time reported that the princes and nobles were losing their prestige in the eyes of the masses. Thus, for example, the population of a number of khoshuns of the Khentei Aimak appealed to the People's Government to rid them of their exploiter prince.

Extensive work was carried out in 1923-24 in connection with the elections to local government bodies.

As a result of these elections nearly 100 per cent of the old feudal authorities in the local government bodies were replaced by elected arat representatives already in 1924.

The working people participated in the elections of government bodies of all stages and were themselves elected as delegates to khurals of all levels. Arat assemblies played a very important part in implementing the policy of ousting the trade enterprises of capitalist countries from the Republic, confiscating the property of feudal lords, implementing the class taxation policy, training the population for self-defence, and developing cattle-breeding and culture.

Seventy-seven delegates—71 arat representatives* and six former nobles—were elected to the First Great People's Khural held in 1924. Forty-six of the delegates were members of the M.P.R.P. and six were members of the R.Y.L.

The main forms of mass participation in governing the state during the subsequent periods of the country's development were: regular reports of the deputies and judges to the electors, the exercise of the electors' right to recall deputies and judges, participation of the most active electors in the work of the permanent committees of local khurals, and activities of independent organisations working in direct contact and under the supervision of executive committees of local khurals.

Periodic congresses, conferences and meetings held on the republican scale, as well as in the aimaks and somons, were also important forms of participation of the working people in the solution of state problems.

Republican conferences of workers of state farms and agricultural associations (ACAs)** regularly discussed the

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* 92.2 per cent of the arat representatives were poor and middle arats.

** See Chapter 6 of the present edition.—*Ed.*

problems of the development of agriculture, while similar conferences of workers of other branches of the economy discussed concrete problems of their particular branches. The electivity of all bodies of state power and officials, as well as their accountability to the representatives of the people, are the most democratic features of the people's state.

With the growth of the number of workers in industry their role in governing the state increased. They have been taking a very active part in carrying out all economic and cultural measures.

The number of representatives of the working class in the Great People's Khural is continuously increasing. Whereas in the Great People's Khural of the first convocation (1951) there were 13.3 per cent workers and 38.3 per cent arats, and in that of the second convocation (1954)— 19.3 and 34.2 per sent respectively, in that of the fifth convocation (1963) there were 21.5 per cent workers and 27.4 per cent members of ACAs.

Of the nominees to the Great People's Khural of the sixth convocation (1966) 21.6 per cent were workers and 28.6 per cent members of ACAs. Thus more than half the nominees were directly engaged in material production and 49 per cent were representatives of the intelligentsia.

The voting rights of the citizens of the Mongolian People's Republic have steadily increased in accordance with the social and economic changes that have taken place in the life of our people.

According to the First Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic adopted in 1924, the arats freed from serfdom by the people's revolution were granted complete suffrage. Suffrage was denied only to former princes, "saints" and ordained lamas permanently living in monasteries.

The electoral system of the Mongolian People's Republic was further developed in the new Constitution adopted by the Eighth Great People's Khural in 1940.

It not only consolidated the free and open voting, but also extended the rights of the electors. According to the new Constitution, each member of any particular khural has the right to nominate candidates for membership in executive bodies and in the higher khurals.

At the same time the new Constitution retained the restrictions in the voting rights of the non-working elements, depriving exploiters of hired labour, usurers and former feudal lords of suffrage. Thus until September 1944 the elections in the Mongolian People's Republic were not universal, certain groups being temporarily deprived of suffrage.

With the consolidation of the people's revolutionary power and the increase of the political consciousness and activity of the working people the article of the Constitution depriving certain categories of Mongolian citizens of suffrage was abrogated in 1944. These citizens were granted equal suffrage. Direct elections of all government bodies, including the Great People's Khural, conducted by the electors themselves, were subsequently introduced.

The universal character of the elections consists in the participation of all citizens, who have reached the age of 18, in the elections. There are no restrictions as regards sex, race, nationality, religion, education, nomadic or settled way of life, properly status or social origin. The only exception are mental patients and persons convicted by a law-court with deprivation of suffrage.

The Constitution declares and guarantees the basic rights and duties of the citizens, notably, the right to work, rest, education, social security, and equality in all walks of life regardless of nationality, sex, religion and social and political views, and the duty to observe the Constitution, obey the laws, defend peace and the homeland from imperialist threats, etc.

The fundamental law of the state, the Constitution serves as the juridical basis for all current legislation All laws of the Mongolian People's Republic are issued on the basis of and in complete conformity with the Constitution.

The population of the Mongolian People's Republic is in the main nationally homogeneous. The country is inhabited by closely related Mongolian nationalities with a common language and similar customs. Kazakhs are the only exception. But even in this case the national problem required a proper solution.

The Party has resolutely struggled against any and all manifestations of unfriendly relations among the

different nationalities and has ensured true friendship among them.

Equality of all the nationalities inhabiting our country, their friendship based on principles of socialist internationalism and their participation in all affairs of the state form the basis of the national policy of the people's state. During the time of the revolution the ties of fraternal friendship of the national groups and nationalities inhabiting the Mongolian People's Republic have grown stronger on the basis of the joint struggle for the common interests.

The Constitution of 1960 reads that "any direct or indirect restrictions in the rights of citizens in virtue of race or nationality, as well as advocacy of ideas of chauvinism and nationalism, are prohibited by law. The Mongolian People's Republic provides for the representatives of all nationalities inhabiting the country every opportunity for developing their national culture, receiving an education and carrying on business correspondence in their native language."*

The successes achieved by the Kazakhs in economic and cultural construction since the people's revolution serve as the clearest expression of the triumph of the Marxist-Leninist national policy of the Mongolian People's Republic.

All nationalities living in the Republic have equal rights in all fields of the country's state, economic, cultural, social and political life.

Thus, for example, 81.5 per cent of the deputies of the Great People's Khural of the fifth convocation (1963) were Khalkha-Mongols, 4.1 per cent were Kazakhs, 5.1 per cent were Buryats and 9.3 per cent were representatives of other nationalities.

The people's democracy is being further improved in Mongolia in the form of khurals.

The khurals are representative bodies of the people set up by universal direct elections and are completely accountable and responsible to the people.

The following executive and administrative bodies constitute the machinery of state: the Council of Ministers

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* *Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic*, Ulan Bator, 1961, p. 30.

of the Mongolian People's Republic, ministries, committees and other departments, executive committees of local khurals of working people's deputies.

The government bodies are also elective and are accountable to the representative bodies (khurals) and the electors.

By a combination of state and public control the machinery of state is improved and a struggle is waged for eradicating bureaucracy and for carrying the proposals of the working people into life in due time.

The activities of the government bodies cover all walks of life of the socialist society: management of the national economy and culture, supervision of the armed forces, state security and maintenance of public order, satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the population.

The legal bodies and the procurator's office have to ensure strict observance of socialist law, eradication of any infringement of the law and order, liquidation of crime and elimination of all its causes, protection of the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens, state and public enterprises, institutions and organisations.

Justice is administered in the country in accordance with the law on the basis of democratic principles, notably, electivity and accountability of the judges and people's assessors, the right of their recall before the expiration of their term in office, public trials, participation of public prosecutors and counsel for the defence in trials, and strict observance of the law by the law-courts and inquest bodies.

The leading and guiding force of the People's Democracy is the M.P.R.P. which works out the general line of domestic and foreign policies and provides supervision for these policies.

The Party continuously enhances the role of the socialist state—the powerful instrument of transforming and developing society—and promotes its economic, organisational, cultural and educational functions.

In enlisting the broad masses of the working people for governing the state and carrying out revolutionary-democratic transformations an important role was played, in addition to the khurals, by the R.Y.L., trade unions and other public organisations of the working people set up under the Party's supervision.

The Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League is a militant helper and reliable reserve of the Party, numbering some 80,000 young men and young women.

The role of the trade unions now numbering more than 163,000 members is growing increasingly more important in the country's socialist construction.

Thus the community of the two forms of socialist property became responsible for the strengthening of the union of the working class and the co-operated arats and for the emergence of the Mongolian people's moral and political unity.

CHAPTER 4

INTERNATIONAL FACTORS FAVOURING NON-CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

When the Mongolian people won their freedom and state independence the correlation of forces in the international arena was not what it is today. There was as yet no world socialist camp, while the international communist and national liberation movements had only just begun to develop under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

At that time Soviet Russia was the only socialist state on which Mongolia, the first People's Republic that came into existence, could bank.

The experience of the Mongolian People's Republic has shown that any economically and culturally backward country could, with the aid of a developed socialist country, make, in a short period of time, a long leap in social development and, on this basis, start building socialism. This possibility is now becoming increasingly greater by virtue of the formation and consolidation of the world socialist system.

The extensive assistance rendered by the Soviet socialist state played an exceptionally important part in the emergence, consolidation and non-capitalist development of the Mongolian People's Republic.

New inter-state relations based on principles of true equality, mutual respect and socialist internationalism were for the first time established between the Mongolian People's Republic and the U.S.S.R., the two countries which, for more than a quarter of a century, were in hostile capitalist encirclement.

From the very first days of the people's revolution the Soviet Union rendered Mongolia military aid. As was already mentioned in some other connection, in 1921 the Red Army took part in liberating the country from Ungern's bands and by request of the Mongolian Government stayed on the territory of the Republic until 1925 in order, jointly with the Mongolian People's Army, to defend the borders of the people's state.

The military aid rendered by the U.S.S.R. continuously safeguarded the independence of the Mongolian People's Republic against the direct threat of Japanese imperialism.

Japanese imperialism became particularly aggressive towards Mongolia after the victory of the people's revolution. This found its expression in a number of declarations and statements of certain Japanese officials. In 1935 and in the beginning of 1936 the Japanese militarists several times attacked the eastern border of the Mongolian People's Republic, but the attacks were repelled by Mongolian troops. The Japanese danger to the Mongolian People's Republic especially increased when Japan invaded North China.

In November 1934 the Mongolian People's Republic and the U.S.S.R. signed an agreement on mutual assistance; in March 1936 the two countries signed a mutual assistance protocol in Ulan Bator for a period of 10 years. The protocol stipulated that in the event either of the two countries was attacked by a third power they would render each other assistance, military included. In keeping with the protocol and by request of the Mongolian People's Republic—to safeguard the Republic's independence—large Soviet military units were brought into the country.

In January 1939 the Japanese militarists did their utmost to provoke armed conflicts in different points of the eastern border of the Mongolian People's Republic. On May 11, 1939, Japanese troops violated Mongolia's state border and advanced towards the Khalkhin-gol River. On May 28, 1939, they repeated their armed provocation and engaged Mongolian border units in that area. The aggressive actions of the Japanese militarists met with a fitting rebuff at the hands of the Mongolian people and their true friend—the Soviet Union.

In accordance with the agreements signed between the

U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic the Red Army again helped the Mongolian people to uphold their territorial integrity and state sovereignty. A special 1st Army Group of Soviet troops was formed in the Khalkhin-gol area; jointly with the Mongolian troops this Army Group destroyed in the course of many days' persistent fighting the larger part of the 6th Japanese Army. By the morning of August 31 the Mongolian territory was completely cleared of the invaders.

In this fighting the Japanese troops lost close to 40,000 men and officers in killed and wounded. The Soviet and Mongolian troops shot down about 700 Japanese planes, captured more than 200 artillery pieces, 340 machine guns, more than 12,000 rifles and some 2 million cartridges.*

In September 1939 a cease-fire agreement was signed between representatives of Japan and the U.S.S.R. in Moscow; in July 1940 the Mongolian People's Republic and Manchukuo reached an agreement concerning their border line.

However, the state independence of the Mongolian People's Republic continued to be threatened by imperialism.

The Second World War, the attack of nazi Germany on the Soviet Union increased the tension at the borders of the Mongolian People's Republic and disturbed the normal course of the Republic's economic and cultural construction.

Despite the hardships of wartime the Soviet Union continued to render Mongolia military aid for the purpose of defending the Republic's state independence.

Regarding the war of Hitler Germany against the world's first socialist state as a serious threat to all progressive humanity and a serious threat to their country's state independence the Mongolian people helped the Red Army with all they could.

During the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people the Mongolian working people collected and sent to various sectors of the front warm clothing, foodstuffs and presents for the Red Army men. An armoured brigade and air squadron were bought with the money donated by the

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* See *History of the Mongolian People's Republic*, Ulan Bator, 1966 (in Mongolian).

Mongolian working people and were placed at the disposal of the Red Army.

After the historic victory over nazi Germany the Soviet Union, true to its allied duty, declared itself on August 9, 1945, in a state of war with Japan. On August 10, 1945, the Mongolian People's Republic declared war on imperialist Japan, and the Mongolian Army started, in close co-operation with the Red Army, military operations against the enemy. On August 19 the Staff of the Kwantung Army declared that the Japanese Army was ready to surrender to the Soviet Armed Forces. On August 23 Japan ceased resistance and on September 2, 1945, signed an act of unconditional surrender. The war in the Far East was terminated.

The Soviet Government paid high tribute to the services rendered by the Mongolian people and the combat co-operation of the two countries, and decorated Marshal H. Choibalsan, Commander-in-Chief of the Mongolian People's Army, Lieutenant-General Y. Tsedenbal, Lieutenant-General Zh. Lkhagvasuren and many other generals, officers and men of the Mongolian People's Army.

"The rout of the Japanese invaders at Khalkhin-gol," said L. I. Brezhnev, "became a real symbol of the fighting fraternity of our two peoples. The Soviet people will never forget the assistance fraternal Mongolia rendered to our country during the hard years of the Great Patriotic War. Soviet and Mongolian soldiers also fought shoulder to shoulder against the Kwantung Army of the Japanese militarists in 1945. Together we defended the people's power, together we have built and are building a new life, and together we have gone and will go through any trial."*

The decisive factor in creating the material prerequisites for Mongolia's non-capitalist development and ensuring the Republic's economic independence is Soviet aid in the form of credits granted on favourable terms for the construction of many industrial enterprises, railways, important housing projects, development of cattle-breeding, cropping and other branches of the national economy.

The Soviet loans granted to Mongolia in the very first years after the victory of the people's revolution played an important role in getting the economic construction start-

* *Pravda*, Jan. 16, 1966.

ed. In 1933, 1934 and 1938 the Soviet Government granted the Mongolian People's Republic new favourable long-term loans.

In those years the first large industrial enterprises were built with Soviet financial and technical assistance.

The treaty and agreement signed between the Mongolian People's Republic and the U.S.S.R. in 1946 were a new contribution to the development of the Republic's economy and culture. Many enterprises of the mining, food and other industries were built with the aid of the Soviet Union after the war. The Trans-Mongolian Railway connecting the country's most important economic areas was constructed with the financial and technical assistance of the U.S.S.R. in 1949. Numerous stations and settlements with clubs, schools and hospitals have sprung up along this railway.

In 1957 the Soviet Union transferred to the Mongolian People's Republic without compensation its shares of the Mongolneft (Mongolian Oil) and Sovmongolmetal (Soviet-Mongolian Metal) joint-stock companies.

In 1958-60 the Mongolian working people built, with the participation of the U.S.S.R., many enterprises of the coal-mining, flour-grinding and dairy industries, municipal economy, important transport and communications projects, many dwelling houses, state farms and machine-and-livestock stations.

Thus Soviet aid to the Mongolian People's Republic plays an exceptionally important part in the country's successful non-capitalist development towards socialism.

During the past five years the Soviet Union built dozens of industrial enterprises and a large number of agricultural and housing projects, as well as cultural and welfare facilities. Soviet aid is truly invaluable in the solution of one of our country's most difficult problems, notably, provision of skilled labour for our socialist construction projects.

Speaking at the 15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the Central Committee, said: "The many thousands of highly competent specialists and builders made available by the Soviet Union are working hand in hand with Mongolian workers in erecting important economic projects and

housing developments in our country and forging unbreakable bonds of eternal Mongolian-Soviet friendship by their peaceful constructive labour. The Soviet Union is helping us tremendously to enhance our country's defence potential, a necessary component of the defensive might of the socialist community in face of the increasing aggressiveness of the imperialists."*

A particularly important part in the further development and consolidation of the inviolable friendship and co-operation between the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union was played by the visit of the Mongolian Party and government delegation headed by Y. Tsedenbal to the U.S.S.R. in 1965 and the visit of the Soviet Party and government delegation headed by L. I. Brezhnev to Mongolia in 1966. The fundamental questions of further strengthening the political, economic and cultural co-operation between the two countries for the nearest future were settled during the former visit, while a new treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic was signed during the latter. This historical document marks a new stage in the development of the Mongolian-Soviet relations. The treaty corresponds to the interests not only of the peoples of the two countries, but also to those of the whole socialist community, those of peace and socialism. Further all-round strengthening of the indissoluble ties of fraternity and friendship between the two states remains, as always, the most important task of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. The M.P.R.P. and the C.P.S.U., the governments of the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic, as well as the peoples of both countries, hold the same views on all problems of international relations.

The Soviet-Mongolian communique reads: "Having noted the beneficial results of the economic, scientific and technical co-operation the Contracting Parties have expressed satisfaction with the course of fulfilment of the mutual commitments issuing from the inter-governmental agreements and have once more confirmed their interest in the further development of this co-operation both on a bilateral

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* *15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party*. pp. 39-40.

and a multilateral basis, within the framework of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance in particular. . . .

"Both delegations have expressed their determination to continue the efforts aimed at overcoming the difficulties that have arisen in the international communist movement, at consolidating the solidarity and unity of the socialist countries and at achieving the aims and objectives jointly elaborated by the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and stated in the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960."

A large part of the funds granted to the Mongolian People's Republic in 1966-70 as new Soviet aid will be used in carrying out measures aimed at further developing agriculture, cattle-breeding in the first place.

During the Republic's Fourth Five-Year Plan period the Soviet Union will help it to build a number of large enterprises of the light and food industries, wool-washing and felting factories, a knitted-goods factory, a furniture factory, a breadbaking and macaroni plant, a confectionery factory in Darkhan, dairy plants, a modern poultry farm, aimak food plants, etc. Building industry and building materials enterprises will also be constructed with Soviet aid.

The Soviet Union has been helping Mongolia to develop public education, art, science and the public health services. The training of skilled workers for all branches of the national economy, physicians, secondary and higher school teachers, engineers and scientists has been one of the main forms of Soviet aid to the Mongolian people. The studies of the experience of the world's first socialist state, the experience of the struggle of the C.P.S.U. and the whole Soviet people for the construction of socialism and communism imbue the Mongolian people with confidence that the tasks of socialist construction will be accomplished.

The historic victory of the U.S.S.R. and all the democratic and peace-loving forces over German nazism and Japanese militarism, the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic and the formation of the world socialist system have set up exceptionally favourable conditions for accelerating the development of the productive forces of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The relations between the Mongolian People's Republic and all the socialist countries are based on the great princi-

ples of Marxism-Leninism, on principles of socialist internationalism. This is, in particular, attested by the broad exchange of Party, government, parliamentary and other delegations aimed at deepening the fraternal co-operation in the political, economic and cultural spheres, as well as by the exchange of experience in socialist construction.

In recent years Mongolian Party and government delegations made friendly visits to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The ensurance of unity and solidarity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism corresponds to the fundamental interests of socialism, communism, the international communist, working-class and national liberation movements, and world peace.

Orienting itself on its extensive political, economic and cultural co-operaton with the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union and on the already achieved level of development of its national economy the Mongolian People's Republic has in recent years attained remarkable successes in the development of its industry, agriculture and culture.

Suffice it to point out that many dozens of new industrial enterprises were built in the Republic during 1961-65.

The Darkhan industrial complex is a vivid expression of the aid rendered by socialist countries to the Mongolian People's Republic. Darkhan is an international construction project. A powerful industrial base with dozens of factories is being established, a Darkhan-Sharyn-gol Railway Line has been built, the country's largest heat and power plant and high-tension transmission lines, the Sharyn-gol Coal Pit and a large elevator have been constructed—all by the common efforts of Soviet, Mongolian, Polish and Czechoslovak builders. Czechoslovakia is helping to build a cement plant and Poland—a silica brick plant. The rapid industrial development of Darkhan clearly shows the great power of socialist internationalism, the power of fraternal aid and support.

Darkhan is becoming the second industrial centre of the Republic, an important base for the further development of the socialist economy of the Mongolian People's Republic.

L. Dandar, hero of Khalkhin-gol fighting

Poster symbolising the country's non-capitalist development

The co-operation between the Republic and the fraternal socialist countries is being strengthened, which is clearly attested by the structure of its foreign trade. Before the formation of the world socialist system the Mongolian People's Republic developed mutually advantageous foreign trade only with the Soviet Union. In exchange for agricultural products the Soviet Union supplied and is supplying Mongolia with machinery and equipment for the development of industry, transport and agriculture.

Since the formation of the world socialist system the Mongolian People's Republic has been developing extensive trade with all the People's Democracies. In 1965 the total volume of the country's foreign trade increased 5.8 per cent compared with 1960, and that with socialist countries 6.9 per cent, the increase in the foreign trade with the CMEA countries amounting to about 20 per cent.

Today the Mongolian People's Republic sells to its trade partners some 120 different commodities.

The entry of the Mongolian People's Republic into the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in June 1962 was an event of enormous importance to the country's economic development and its co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries. It was conditioned by the objective, law-governed course of social development of the world system as a prototype of a single communist economy, by the economic laws of socialism. The M.P.R.P. proceeds from the proposition that the gradual equalisation of the economic development of the socialist countries issues naturally from the growth of the productive forces and increase in co-operation of the countries of the world socialist system, that it is conditioned by the nature of socialism and is dictated by the interests of individual socialist countries and the socialist system as a whole. The essential differences in the development of the productive forces of different socialist countries will be overcome in the course of construction of socialism and communism.

The co-operation within the framework of the CMEA offers Mongolia favourable conditions for still more successful advance towards the complete victory of socialism.

The plan for developing the national economy and culture of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1966-70 has been co-ordinated, and negotiations on important prob-

lems of economic co-operation have been successfully carried out with the CMEA member countries. Such co-ordination of the national economic plan with the corresponding plans of the fraternal countries serves as a prerequisite for taking full advantage of the socialist system to accelerate the development of our Republic.

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic has always advocated establishment and development of normal friendly relations with all countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence.

As was already noted, the Republic is maintaining diplomatic relations with some 40 countries on four continents and trade relations with some 20 countries.*

Of late the Mongolian People's Republic has also been developing trade relations with capitalist countries. Since 1957 Mongolia has been trading with Swiss and French firms, and since 1960—with Japanese and British firms.

The Mongolian People's Republic is struggling to safeguard and consolidate universal peace, to stop the preparations for a new world war, terminate the local wars unleashed by imperialists, to ban the production, proliferation and use of nuclear weapons, and to achieve general and complete disarmament.

The third Programme of the M.P.R.P. reads: "The M.P.R.P., like the other Marxist-Leninist parties, has set itself the aim of ensuring peaceful conditions for the construction of socialism and communism, strengthening the unity, friendship and co-operation between the countries of the world socialist system, supporting the national liberation movement of the peoples and the revolutionary struggle of the working classes of the capitalist countries, assisting in rallying all revolutionary forces of our time, maintaining and consolidating universal peace and the security of the peoples."

The untiring struggle of the peace-loving forces against war, to safeguard and strengthen international peace and the security of the peoples is one of the most important prerequisites for the successful non-capitalist development of the Mongolian People's Republic towards socialism.

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* This does not include the trade relations of the Mongolian People's Republic with private concerns of capitalist countries.

That is why the Mongolian Government and the Mongolian people actively support the movement of the peace supporters.

The Mongolian people are supporting the heroic struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for their freedom and independence and against the imperialist colonialists; the Mongolian people are unswervingly on the side of Vietnam and Korea in their struggle against imperialist aggression. The Mongolian working people indignantly condemn the flagrant interference of the Western powers in the internal affairs of the Republic of Congo and the Kingdom of Laos, the plots and sabotage organised by the American imperialists against revolutionary Cuba.

"The Mongolian People's Republic," reads the Statement of the 15th Congress of the M.P.R.P. in support of the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggression, "fully supports the four-point platform of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-point statement of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, as a sound basis for a fair settlement of the Vietnam problem. In pursuance of the will of all members of the M.P.R.P. and the working people of the Mongolian People's Republic the delegates to the 15th Congress again demand earnestly of U.S. that it terminate forthwith the bombings of the D.R.V. territory, dismantle war bases in South Vietnam, withdraw its troops and arms and those of its allies, and unreservedly observe the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam."*

Peace and friendship among the nations—such are the aspirations of the Mongolian people and such is the foreign policy of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic. "Not bows and arrows, but friendship"—this Mongolian saying expresses the peaceableness of our people.

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* *15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party*, p. 247.

CHAPTER 5

INDUSTRIALISATION

The Mongolian People's Republic inherited from the past one-branch economy—extensive cattle-breeding in which nearly all of the population has been engaged since olden times.

It was necessary to put things right in this traditional branch of the economy and then in every possible way to foster the emergence and development of cropping as a new branch of agricultural production.

In addition to this the M.P.R.P. and the People's Government foresaw the role and importance of the development of the national industry in consolidating the political and economic independence of the country, in liquidating its technical and economic backwardness. What to begin with?— was the question. The young people's state could not at once launch large-scale diversified industrial production. For this it had neither experience nor adequate financial resources, nor technical specialists, nor even workers with elementary skills.

Life suggested the expedience of establishing primarily industrial enterprises for processing animal products. The supervision of the country's industrial development was from the very outset concentrated in the hands of the people's power. Immediately after the victory of the revolution the state and the newly emerged Moncencoop—trade and consumer co-operatives—assumed ownership of the small handicraft and semi-handicraft enterprises formerly owned either by the former bogdo-gegen government or foreigners.

These were wool-washing shops, small tanning establishments, the only Urga electric power plant and the coal mines in Nalaikha.

These enterprises were enlarged and supplied with new equipment. Thus in 1925-26 the Nalaikha coal mines were re-equipped, while in 1934 many labour processes in these mines were mechanised. In the second half of the 1930s new coal mines were started in the vicinity of Yugodzyr, in Bain Bulak, Under Khan, Sain Shand and Dzun Bulak. As the result of the work done the Republic received 4 times as much coal in 1940 as it had in 1924.

Two low-capacity electric power plants worked in the Mongolian People's Republic in 1932, whereas in 1939 the power economy of the capital was unified in a single power complex whose capacity increased severalfold. Soon small electric power plants also appeared in a number of other centres of the country.

A brick works, a saw-mill and a woodworking factory were put into operation during 1928-39.

In the spring of 1931 the handicraft producer co-operatives were separated from the system of consumer co-operatives. At that time they numbered 14 producer artels, whereas in 3 years their number increased to several dozen artels. In 1924 the artels produced consumer goods with an assortment of some 25 different articles. Thus the state and co-operative sectors emerged and developed on socialist principles in the sphere of industry.

The principal sources for financing the industrial enterprises of the state and co-operative sectors were the state budget, bank credits and the loans granted on favourable terms by the Soviet Union.

As was already noted, a large part of the Republic's state budget had to be used for strengthening the defence potential, developing culture, veterinary and other forms of state aid to agriculture. That was why from 1928 to 1934 it was possible to allocate from the state budget only about 18 million tugriks for the needs of the industry, 15.5 million tugriks being invested in the state industry and 2.5 million in the co-operative sector.

In view of its limited financial resources the People's Government of Mongolia asked the Government of the Soviet Union to establish a bank in Mongolia on a

favourable joint-stock basis to extend credits for the development of the national industry and transport.

The Government of the U.S.S.R. granted this request, and such a bank was organised in Mongolia in 1924. The bank discharged functions fundamentally opposed to those performed by any capitalist bank. It rendered disinterested aid in emitting and strengthening the national currency, developing the industry and the motor transport and, in the final analysis, in ensuring the economic independence of people's Mongolia and creating economic prerequisites for socialist construction. The bank increased its credits for the industrial development of Mongolia with each passing year. As a result, the state budget of the Mongolian People's Republic systematically increased. Thus in 1940 its revenues were more than three times those of 1934.

The mutually advantageous trade between the Mongolian People's Republic and the U.S.S.R. provided for the Republic a market with modern industrial equipment in exchange for animal raw products. The Soviet Union rendered Mongolia very important assistance by granting the Republic technical documentation and sending to the country large numbers of expert engineers, technicians and skilled workers to build industrial enterprises and train national specialists.

The first large enterprise—the Ulan Bator industrial complex—was built in the Mongolian People's Republic with Soviet aid in 1934. Subsequently the complex was enlarged and new factories and shops were added; for example, a felting factory was built in 1936 and a woollen knitted-goods shop in 1940. In time many enterprises were separated from the complex and became independent industrial units.

In 1940 the basic funds of the Ulan Bator industrial complex amounted to 176.3 per cent compared with 1935, while its output more than doubled during the same period.

In 1934, simultaneously with the industrial complex, a large wool-washing factory was put into operation in the Khatkhyl settlement.

The development of industry resulted in the formation of a national working class; it consisted primarily of farm labourers, poor peasants and lower clergy, who came to

industry not because of their ruin, as was the case in the past and as is still observed in non-socialist countries, but, on the contrary, in consequence of the improved living standards of the toiling peasants, the introduction of modern technology and the rise in culture.

Three categories of workers formed in the Republic: workers of state industrial enterprises and transport, workers of state agricultural enterprises—state farms and machine-and-livestock stations—and, lastly, workers of handicraft producer artels.

Enormous work was carried on in the country with the aim of retaining these categories of workers at the enterprises and developing their labour skills and technical efficiency. In the process of labour yesterday's nomadic arats had to learn entirely new occupations.

The national working class was trained by the engineers and technicians invited from the Soviet Union. The idea expressed by Lenin as far back as 1916, to the effect that more developed peoples must render disinterested aid to backward and oppressed peoples, including the Mongolian people, must help them learn to use machinery and achieve democracy and socialism was thus carried into life.

The Mongolian working class took over a good deal of the experience and glorious revolutionary traditions of the Soviet working class.

The work of the M.P.R.P. was then aimed at developing the former nomads into highly skilled industrial workers with a high socialist consciousness.

The class consciousness of the Mongolian workers formed not in a struggle for their political and economic rights and against the bourgeoisie, as was the case in capitalist countries, but in the struggle for the construction of a socialist society, for the establishment of socialist production relations in all walks of life. The formation of the national working class went on hand in hand with the creation and development of the socialist system.

In the formation and ideological training of the working class, as well as in its accumulation of labour experience an important role was played by the Mongolian trade union organisation which came into existence in 1925. As a school of communism it helped to educate the

workers in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, to develop their revolutionary socialist consciousness and a socialist attitude to labour, to improve their technical skills and raise their living and cultural standards.

In 1928 the Mongolian trade union organisation joined the Profintern and thus strengthened the relations of the Mongolian workers with the international working-class movement, the working class of the U.S.S.R. in the first place.

It should be noted that in the process of industrial development of the Mongolian People's Republic our working class rapidly developed politically, morally and ideologically.

The Mongolian workers mastered the most complex types of machinery, learned new vocations, achieved high labour indices, displayed high labour discipline and organisation, and were the main force in the Republic's industrial development.

Whereas in 1928 the industrial enterprises of the Mongolian People's Republic had only 300 workers, in 1940 they had more than 18,000 workers, while the factory and office workers together with their families numbered 74,600, i.e., 10 per cent of the country's population.*

Noting the historical role of the new revolutionary class of industrial workers in the country's non-capitalist development towards socialism, the 10th Congress of the M.P.R.P. held in 1940 made particular emphasis in its resolution on the necessity of further developing the national industry on the basis of improving its equipment and introducing the principle of planning. As was already noted, the difficult international situation caused by the Second World War impeded and hindered for several years the realisation of the aforesaid decisions of the 10th Congress of the Party.

The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people naturally curtailed the Soviet Union's supply of the Mongolian People's Republic with industrial equipment. Besides, true to their allied duty the Mongolian people used part of

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* See Y. Tsedenbal, *The Fortieth Anniversary of the Great October and the Mongolian People*, Moscow, 1957, p. 47.

their material and financial resources during the war to help the Red Army. But even under those conditions Mongolia increased the output of its light and food industries. Considerable development was attained, in particular, by butter and meat production. Whereas in 1940 there were 24 small enterprises of the food industry in the country, in 1945 the Republic had 423 of them.

From 1940 to 1944 the marketable milk output increased more than fivefold, hundreds of tons of butter and other dairy products being produced from it.

Between 1941 and 1944 the capital investments in industry exceeded 100 million tugriks. The products turned out by the industry during the war were worth 54 per cent more than theretofore, while the number of workers in industry increased almost 30 per cent.

A good deal of attention was devoted to revolutionary emulation of the workers for fulfilling the plans ahead of time, improving the quality of production and cutting its costs.

An important event in the life of the Mongolian People's Republic was the first republican conference of shock workers of industry, handicraft producer co-operatives, transport and communications held in Ulan Bator in May 1943. The 385 delegates assembled at this conference summed up the struggle for the development of the national industry, shared the experience of the foremost collectives and the best workers, and outlined new concrete tasks. The conference contributed to further development of the industry.

The 11th Congress of the M.P.R.P. assembled in December 1947 summed up the development of the Republic's industry from 1940 to 1947. During this period the output of the state industry had increased 450 per cent and that of the co-operative industry 88 per cent.

The socialist sector of the Republic's economy had expanded and strengthened to such an extent that already in 1948 it was possible to change from annual planning of the economy to its long-term planning. With the completion of socialist co-operation all of Mongolia's economy began to develop on the basis of long-term plans.

The First Five-Year Plan for the Economic and Cultural Development of the Mongolian People's Republic was

fulfilled during 1948-52. In gross output the plan was fulfilled 101.7 per cent. In 1952 the volume of the Republic's industrial output in terms of unchanged 1940 prices amounted to 151 per cent of the corresponding 1947 volume and was 150 per cent over the 1940 output volume. During the five years labour productivity increased 28.8 per cent, while the cost of production decreased 17.5 per cent.

Seven mines were built in the vicinity of Nalaikha and oil-extracting and ore-mining industries were established on a joint-stock basis with the Soviet Union from 1948 to 1952. Electric power production at the Ulan Bator central electric power plant increased severalfold compared with 1934.

The greatest development during this period was achieved by the food industry. Thus by the end of the First Five-Year Plan period it produced 17.4 per cent more foodstuffs than in 1947.

During the same period the number of industrial and office workers employed by the enterprises of the Ministry of Industry increased 11.3 per cent and at those of the Ministry of Food Industry 100 per cent.

One of the most important stages in the further development of the national industry was the Second Five-Year Plan period (1953-57).

During this period ten coal mines and a factory of prefabricated parts were constructed, while the Ulan Bator central electric power plant, the meat-packing plant, the engineering and brick works, the furniture factory and other enterprises were enlarged or reconstructed.

On the whole the Second Five-Year Plan was fulfilled 107 per cent. The quality of the production also considerably improved.

During the five years the gross output of the industry increased 69 per cent; the state industry—73 per cent and the co-operative—55 per cent.

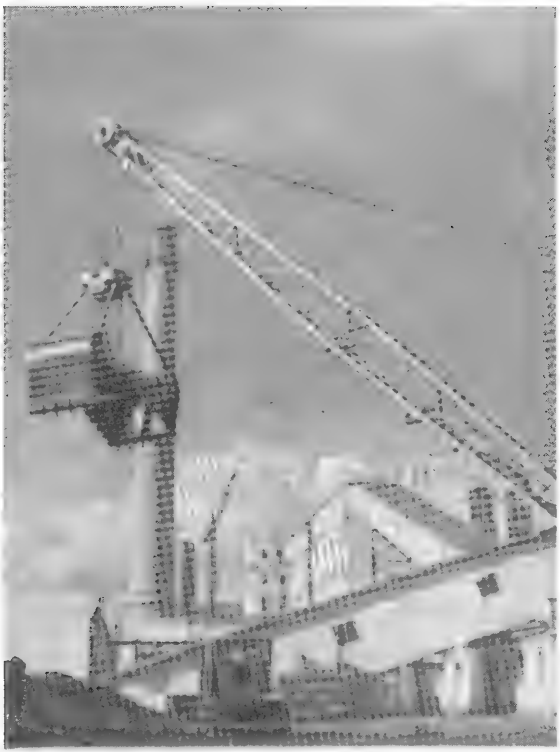
From 1953 to 1956 some 24.1 per cent of the total industrial output was the result of the rise in labour productivity.

In 1957 the Mongolian People's Republic produced per capita: coal—461 kg, electric power—80 kwh, industrially processed milk—121 litres.

The same year the share of industrial output in the

Ulan Bator industrial complex

Miners



Nalaikha Coal Mine

total industrial and agricultural production amounted to 41 per cent.

During the Second Five-Year Plan period the coal output increased more than 200 per cent and electric power production 600 per cent.

During the same period the ranks of the working class were considerably reinforced, the Revolutionary Youth League sending 8,000 young workers to the industrial enterprises and construction projects of the Republic.

Between 1958 and 1960 the Mongolian industry developed in accordance with a three-year plan. Some 20 industrial enterprises, including the Nalaikha-Capital Coal Mine, an electric power plant in Sukhe Bator, a dairy plant, a brick works, a printing-house, etc., were built and put into operation during this period with the economic aid of the U.S.S.R., the Chinese People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the German Democratic Republic.

Mechanised flour mills in Ulan Gom, Bulgan and Choibalsan, a mill in Ulan Bator with an annual capacity of 32,200 tons of flour and a confectionery factory with an annual capacity of 5,000 tons were built with Soviet aid in 1959. In the course of the three years the increase in industrial output amounted to 17.9 per cent.

On the whole, from 1940 to 1960 the industrial output of the Republic increased 640 per cent.

The result of the gradual industrialisation of the most important branches of the Republic's economy, the steady growth of the socialist industry and the establishment of new branches of industry, as well as the development of modern transport and means of communication with the decisive economic and technical assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, was that by 1961 Mongolia was transformed from an agrarian into an agrarian-industrial country.

Whereas in 1950 the gross output of the national industry amounted to 209.4 million tugriks' worth in unchanged 1960 prices, in 1960 it already amounted to 592.4 million tugriks' worth.

By 1960 the number of workers increased more than sixfold compared with 1940, the industrial and office

workers and the members of their families constituting one-third of the country's population.*

The share of production of the means of production (Group A) in the total industrial output increased from 25.3 per cent in 1952 to 50.9 per cent in 1960. The per capita industrial output is increasing in the Mongolian People's Republic with each passing year. For example, 357.3 per cent more electric power was produced per capita in 1959 than in 1952.**

It should be remembered that Mongolia established and expanded primarily the branches of production for the development of which the country has raw material resources. This implies the fuel and power, ore-mining, building, light and food industries. Very promising both for the domestic and foreign markets is the industry for processing animal products, as well as the mining industry, the possibility for the expansion of which is based on rich mineral deposits.

Of considerable importance to the further development of the national industry was the Third Five-Year Plan for Economic and Cultural Development of Mongolia (1961-65).

In 1965 the gross output of the national industry increased more than 60 per cent compared with 1960, that of the state industry increasing 60 per cent and that of the co-operative industry 70 per cent. The average annual increase in industrial output for the five years was 10.5 per cent. In 1965 the production of the means of production increased 50 per cent as compared with 1960, and that of consumer goods 80 per cent.

In keeping with the instructions of the 14th Congress of the M.P.R.P. on the priority development of the fuel and power industry the capacity of the electric power industry of the Mongolian People's Republic increased 190 per cent in 1965 compared with 1960.

The capacity of the coal industry increased almost 150 per cent and the coal output 60 per cent in 1965 as compared with 1960.

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* See Y. Tsedenbal, *Selected Articles and Speeches*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1962, p. 291.

** Ibid., pp. 288-89.

In 1965 the per capita output of the basic commodities increased compared with 1960 as follows: coal—38 per cent, electric power—100 per cent, tungsten—80 per cent, footwear—30 per cent, etc.

During the Third Five-Year Plan period the capital investments in industry increased 140 per cent as compared with the 1956-60 period, those in the electric power industry increasing 300 per cent, in the fuel industry—50 per cent and in the food industry 120 per cent.

Almost four-fifths of all the capital investments in industry were used to build new and reconstruct the existing enterprises.

Some 90 industrial enterprises and shops were built and put into operation with the extensive technical and economic aid of the U.S.S.R. and other fraternal socialist countries during the five years; these include several coal mines, the Tolgoit and Bayan Ulegei electric power plants, the Ulan Bator housebuilding and the Tosontsengel woodworking plants, the Ikh Khairkhan tungsten mine, a kid-leather tannery, flour mills in Sukhe Bator, Undurkhan, Muren and Kharkhorin, the Ulan Bator baking plant, etc.

The commissioning of new capacities and the renewal of the fixed assets have made it possible to increase the fixed assets in the industry of the Mongolian People's Republic about 90 per cent during the five years. The share of the machinery and equipment in the fixed assets put into operation in 1965 was 37 per cent.

In 1966 the share of industrial products in the total national product of the Republic was 65 per cent.

Mongolian industrial enterprises are large socialist enterprises with modern equipment. The basic labour processes in these enterprises are mechanised and automated. The workers are guaranteed labour protection and industrial safety measures and are provided with the necessary living, sanitary and hygienic conditions. The systematic increases in wages, pensions and other allowances contribute to raising the material and cultural standards of the country's working class.

"Today," Y. Tsedenbal noted, "48.7 per cent of Mongolia's population are industrial and office workers, and

51.3 per cent are members of agricultural associations."* During 1961-65 the total number of workers engaged in state industry increased 13 per cent, specialists with a higher education—170 per cent and specialists with a secondary education—110 per cent. The Party has always devoted particular attention to training skilled people for industry and construction.

The working class is successfully accomplishing the tasks it is charged with. Suffice it to say that during the Third Five-Year Plan period 54 per cent increase in industrial production was due to increased labour productivity. The improvement of the organisation of production and the economy of raw and other materials resulted in a certain reduction in the production costs. Of considerable importance to the further development of the national industry is socialist emulation which in the beginning of the 1930s started in industrial enterprises and since 1952 spread to all branches of the Republic's economy.

More than 90 per cent of all of the country's workers were engaged in it in 1960.

The movement for the title of Socialist Labour Teams is a new form of socialist emulation.

Of great importance to improving the organisation of production and raising the productivity of labour is the movement of innovators and rationalisers. During the Third Five-Year Plan period the number of its participants exceeded 10,000. More than 80 per cent of their proposals have been adopted and used in production, netting the state a saving of close to 60 million tugriks.

The role of the working class and its vanguard—the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party—in all of the country's social and political life is steadily growing. Whereas in 1935 workers numbered 5.3 per cent of the membership of the M.P.R.P. and in 1955—16 per cent, in 1965 they already numbered 25.4 per cent of the Party membership. Increasingly more workers are being elected to the Great People's Khural and to local government bodies. Thus in the Great People's Khural of the first convocation (1951) workers numbered 13.3 per cent of all

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* Y. Tsedenbal, "The Marxist-Leninist Vanguard of the Mongolian People", *Pravda*, March 1, 1966.

deputies, whereas in the Great People's Khural of the third convocation (1957) there were 24.8 per cent workers.

The 1966-70 Five-Year Plan for the Economic and Cultural Development of the country will be a new major step in transforming the Mongolian People's Republic into an industrial-agrarian country.

The fourth Programme of the M.P.R.P. adopted at the 15th Congress of the Party reads: "The key economic problem of this period is to complete the building, in the optimum context, of the material and technical basis of socialism through the country's further industrialisation, the mechanisation of agriculture, and the raising of the machine-to-worker ratio in all branches of the economy. The Party is determined to turn the M.P.R. into an industrial-agrarian state in the near future with a rational structure of the mining and processing branches of socialist industry and an effective combination of the key branches of socialist economy."*

The Programme emphasises that in the course of establishing the material and technical basis of socialism the public socialist property must continuously increase, its higher and leading form—state socialist property—must more rapidly develop and become consolidated, and the co-operative property of the agricultural associations must steadily develop on the basis of the growth of their social wealth and better technical equipment.

During the new five-year plan period the gross output of the industry will increase 70-80 per cent. The average annual rate of increase in industrial production will be 11-12.5 per cent.** Special attention will be devoted to improving the distribution of the productive forces and branches of industry and further consolidation of its fuel and power base. Rapid development of the most effective branches of the light and food industries is envisaged.

The productivity of labour in industry will rise 37.5 per cent and will account for a 55 per cent of the increase in industrial production.

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* *Programme of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party*, Ulan Bator, pp. 21-22.

** See *15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party*.

A 6.7 per cent reduction in the costs of production, greater profitableness of production and a sharp decrease in unprofitable enterprises are envisaged.

Considerable aid in the development of Mongolia's industry will, as before, be rendered by the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic and Bulgaria.

It is well known that the development of a country's industry, agriculture and culture is closely connected with the development of modern transport and communications.

On the vast territory of pre-revolutionary Mongolia there were neither railways nor motor vehicles. The only means of conveyance was cartage by camels, oxen and horses. Two telegraph lines ran through the country: from north to south through present-day Sukhe Bator-Ulan Bator-Dzamyn Ud, and westward—Ulan Bator-Kobdo-Ulyasutai; these lines connected our country with Soviet Russia and China.

While encouraging and using the traditional cartage, the People's Government gradually developed motor transport which now plays the leading part in the country's unified transport system.

The assignments of the Third Five-Year Plan for the development of all kinds of mechanised transport have in the main been fulfilled. The country's fleet of motor vehicles increased 28 per cent from 1960 to 1965, the number of trailers increasing 50 per cent with the result that almost 30 per cent of all lorries draw trailers.*

Twenty-five per cent more funds were allocated for automobile highways during 1958-60 than during all of the Second Five-Year Plan period. Hundreds of kilometres of hard-surfaced roads and dozens of bridges across large rivers were built or repaired during 1958-60.

Railways have become one of the main forms of transport as regards freightage. By the end of 1960 the railways had carried 42 per cent of all of the country's domestic and foreign cargoes. In the foreign freight turnover the share of railway freightage amounted to 98 per cent of the total freightage.

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*See *15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.*

Civil aviation has of late been successfully developing. A total of 170 per cent more passengers were transported by aircraft in 1965 than in 1960.* The work of the water transport on navigable Lake Khubsugul and the Selenga River has considerably improved.

Considerable achievements have been made during 1961-66 in developing the communications. The country is now covered with a dense network of telephone, telegraph and radio lines. Compared with 1960 the number of telephone stations has increased 86 per cent, their capacity increasing 100 per cent; the number of radio-relay centres has increased 300 per cent, that of radio receivers—330 per cent and that of rediffusion loudspeakers—55 per cent. Today there are 1.4 rediffusion loudspeakers for every 10 people and 1.7 telephones for every 100 people.**

As a result of accomplishing the tasks of the Fourth Five-Year Plan an appreciable step will be made in transforming Mongolia from an agrarian-industrial into an industrial-agrarian country. The country's industrialisation is one of the main results of the non-capitalist development of the Mongolian People's Republic towards socialism.

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* Ibid.
** Ibid.

CHAPTER 6

SOCIALIST AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION

The nomadic cattle-breeding economy has always needed vast tracts of land. Since these tracts of land were used in Mongolia for the most part as pastures the solution of the agrarian problem after the victory of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution was not attended with so sharp a struggle as in other agrarian countries.

Before the people's revolution the land was the feudal hereditary property of the prince of the given administrative area, and the best pastures were used primarily by feudal lords.

Since the revolution, in connection with the abolition of the principalities and the reorganisation of the country's administrative division, the land was placed at the disposal of the entire people. The first laws and then the First Constitution officially proclaimed the land and its entrails to be state property, i.e., property of the whole nation.

Thus the land in Mongolia was officially nationalised.

The transfer of the land to the possession of society, i.e., the possession of the entire people, was one of the most important prerequisites for the emergence of the socialist system in agriculture.

Before the co-operation of agriculture Mongolia numbered more than 200,000 small individual nomadic arat economies.

The M.P.R.P. and the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic struggled over a period of many years to increase the marketable surplus, produced by extensive cattle-breeding, by rendering all possible aid to the poor and middle arats and limiting the capitalist elements.

This policy of the people's state resulted in a sharp reduction in the number of poor arats and in raising them to the level of middle arats. By 1956 some 63 per cent of all arats were middle arats.

Thus cattle-breeding, one of the leading branches of the Republic's economy, continued to remain in the hands of small producers. The individual economies differed very much in size, some of them having hundreds of head of cattle (some—even thousands), others—a hundred or so head, still others—but a few head.

According to the 1956 census of the Mongolian People's Republic, 70.8 per cent of the country's population were cattle-breeding arats; 61.4 per cent of these arats were individual cattle-breeders. The arats owned 94.2 per cent of all the cattle, the individual cattle-breeders owning 80.9 per cent.

The question arose: what to do next? The only way that could guarantee an appreciable rise in the well-being of the rural people was socialist co-operation, since any other way leads to enrichment of some and the ruin of others. "If we continue as before on our small isolated farms, albeit as free citizens on free soil, we are still faced with imminent ruin," said Lenin.*

The M.P.R.P. persuaded the masses of the great economic advantage of collective farming by using the state agricultural enterprises as a model. But first of all it was necessary to increase the marketable surplus of the arat economies, especially those of the poor arats, at the same time introducing the most accessible and comprehensible form of collective farming—collectivised labour and then collectivised means of production. All this required time, definite capital investments, certain experience, and good organisers and specialists.

The practical pursuit of the aforesaid political course met with many difficulties and suffered many errors. Ignoring the peculiarities of the historical stage of the Republic's development, as well as the foreign and domestic situations, and despite the absence of the necessary material and technical prerequisites, the "Left" deviationists who were then among the country's leaders speeded up the

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 503.

collectivisation, planning to complete it in two years. Proceeding from their erroneous propositions the "Lefts" organised several hundred collective farms and communes in 1930-32. In some aimaks the collectivisation campaign embraced 40-80 per cent of the population. These collective farms and communes were poorly organised and were unable either materially, morally or organisationally to interest their members in collective farming. These subjectivist, anti-socialist perversions of the "Lefts" discredited the great ideas of voluntary co-operation and thereby considerably harmed this important cause.

As a result of the Leftist extremes and feeble activities of the collective farms the country's cattle stock even somewhat decreased in 1931-32.

These Leftist errors were resolutely condemned by the Party at the Third Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the M.P.R.P. in 1932. The Party deemed it necessary at the time to disband all weak collective farms and communes, retaining by request of the members of the communes themselves only the best organised and most promising ones. The plenary meeting emphasised that in the future the co-operatives should be organised strictly in accordance with the principle of voluntariness.

The Party encouraged and supported the voluntary co-operation of arats by utilising their useful labour traditions (joint shearing of sheep, digging of wells, etc.) and then the most elementary collectivisation of some of their means of production. However, such collective labour failed to exclude exploitation of the poor by well-to-do arats.

At the same time the M.P.R.P. continued to seek the most expedient and accessible forms of co-operating the individual cattle-breeders.

A most important part in this was played by APAs—arat producer associations which came into existence in 1934.

The APAs were joined in the main by the poor, and at that only the heads of families, who decided which means of production were subject to socialisation. During the period of their emergence their members were paid mainly equal wages. As a rule, one part of the product of a socialised economy was surrendered to the APA as collec-

View of Ulan Bator

A pasture

ACA fields

Sample of old writing

tive income, while the other part was kept by the members of the association as compensation for tending the cattle or other work. This served as a material incentive for the arats and convinced them of the benefits of collective labour and co-operative farming. Enjoying the great support of the state the APAs gradually expanded and gained strength. The arats grew increasingly more convinced of the correctness of the old Mongolian saying: "A great many hands are better than one giant."

In 1940 the Republic already had about 90 arat producer associations organised on voluntary principles; during 1948-52 their number more than doubled. In the associations the cattle stock increased more rapidly than on individual farms.

This impelled the arats to join the associations. Gradually all sections of the arats became interested in the APAs.

But this form of co-operation needed further improvement.

Simultaneously with strengthening the APAs the people's state devoted considerable attention to developing large state agricultural enterprises on the basis of using the modern achievements of science and technology.

Whereas in 1932 the Republic had three cattle-breeding and five cropping state farms,* in 1943 it had ten and in 1955—18.

In addition to the state farms the Republic developed machine-and-hay-mowing stations (MHMS) which considerably helped the APAs in hay-making.

The state farms and MHMS exerted a great revolutionising, cultural and educational influence on the agriculture of the Mongolian People's Republic, contributing to its socialist transformation and the successful pursuit of the restrictive policy with respect to capitalist elements, primarily depriving them of the chance to exploit poor arats.

In the ocean of numerous individual farms the state farms and the MHMS were large islands of socialist economy and new socialist culture. Arats, especially the poor,

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* Large state Mongolian agricultural enterprises with all means of production and all the products belonging to the state, i.e., being public property.

willingly went to work there and often became permanent workers of these state enterprises.

The First Five-Year Plan for increasing the sown areas of the state farms was fulfilled 151.1 per cent, for grain harvesting—112.5 per cent, and expanding the hay-mowing areas—105.5 per cent.

Compared with 1947 the cattle stock increased by the end of the First Five-Year Plan period 7.1 per cent on arat farms, 112.5 per cent on state farms and 550 per cent in the APAs.

It should be noted that the state farms played the principal role in establishing and developing modern socialist cropping, a new, for Mongolia, branch of agriculture.

Since the arats all over Mongolia were becoming convinced of the advantages of collective farming an active movement for voluntary co-operation arose among the rural population in 1956.

Taking these developments into consideration and striving to set up the necessary prerequisites for the further successful development of the co-operative movement the Party analysed the situation in agriculture in due time and decided first of all to strengthen the APAs.

The question of strengthening the APAs economically and organisationally was discussed already at the March (1953) Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the M.P.R.P. To carry the decisions of the Party into effect, the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic passed a resolution in 1954 on measures for organising and paying for labour in APAs. This resolution proved exceptionally important in properly organising the labour of APA members and in affording them a material and moral incentive for increasing the public wealth.

Starting in 1954 specialists in agriculture, as well as experienced organisers from among Party, government and public workers, were sent, at the call of the Central Committee, from the capital and other towns to the APAs.

In 1953 and 1954 the Central Committee of the M.P.R.P. and the Mongolian Government twice called conferences of representatives of APAs of the Republic with the participation of leading workers of central and local Party, government and economic bodies. These conferences made it possible to generalise the work experience accumulated

by the APAs, reveal the shortcomings and difficulties in their work, and outline concrete economic and organisational tasks.

The state established such a system of product deliveries which contributed to the utmost development and strengthening of the economy of the APAs and the material incentives of their members.

More profitable norms of delivery of animal products per head of cattle were established for the APAs regardless of their capacity. As the result, their economic activities noticeably improved.

By 1954 the number of APAs increased to 198; the APAs now numbered close to 15,400 members. Compared with 1952 the pecuniary incomes of all APAs in 1954 increased 66 per cent.

The strengthening of the state farms continued simultaneously.

During the aforesaid period the sown areas of the state farms increased 178 per cent, the areas under grain increasing 221 per cent. The work of selection attained considerable development with the result that the cattle stock on the state farms increased 250 per cent.*

An important part in strengthening the economy of the APAs was played by the First Republican Congress of Foremost APA Workers held in March 1955. New Model Rules for APAs (co-operatives) were adopted at this congress. The Rules laid particular stress on the necessity of consistently observing the principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" and the necessity of developing the collective economy to the utmost.

In connection with the adoption of the new Rules the arat producer associations (APAs) were renamed agricultural associations (ACAs).

According to the Model Rules, an association is joined by the entire family, including adolescents who have reached the age of 16. Each member of the association must work in the collective economy and must earn at least 75 workday units a year.**

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* See Y. Tsedenbal, *Selected Articles and Speeches*, Vol. 1, p. 218.

** A workday unit is determined by the amount and difficulty of the work and the skill it requires. The workday units are paid in money or in kind by decision of the ACA board. The final accounts are

In accordance with the new Model Rules non-distributable assets were formed from the public incomes and the socialised means of production. From 25 to 30 per cent of the collectivised cattle and property, as well as the initiation fees of the ACA members were included in the non-distributable assets. Funds were also established for the development of culture and other purposes.

While the Model Rules were mainly concerned with the collective economy, they also regulated the personal husbandries of ACA members. The cattle stock of the personal husbandry of ACA members was, for example, determined by the natural-geographic conditions. In a forest-steppe zone an ACA member could have up to 100 head of cattle, including 15 head of horned cattle (5 cows), 10 horses, five camels and 70 sheep and goats; in the Gobi semi-desert zone—up to 150 head of cattle, including 15 head of horned cattle (5 cows), 15 horses, 20 camels and 100 sheep and goats. The Model Rules were based on the principle of properly combining the public and personal interests of the ACA members. This popular and just principle, which served to stimulate the development of the economy, became the determining factor in the labour activities of all ACA members.

In order to increase the state technical aid to the ACAs, the horse hay-mowing and machine-and-livestock stations began in 1956, by decision of the Central Committee of the M.P.R.P. and the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, to render more extensive services to the ACAs, helping them not only in hay-mowing, but also in growing grain, vegetable and fodder crops, shearing sheep, building wells and cattle housing, and in pure-strain breeding. In order to raise the productivity of cattle, the local breeds were crossed with highly productive strains.

Thus all the necessary conditions were gradually set up for the entry of the ACAs into a new phase of development. Experienced organisers of the co-operative movement appeared, while the state was already in a much better

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settled at the end of the year. The cost of a workday unit is determined by the results of farming as a whole. The system of pay in the ACAs is continuously improved in keeping with the material incentive principle.

position to increase the financial and technical aid to the ACAs.

The existence of appropriate political, economic, social and cultural conditions accelerated the process of voluntary co-operation of the arats. In the increasingly strengthening ACAs the arats saw their bright future.

By the end of 1957 some 33 per cent of the arat families had voluntarily joined co-operatives. The collective cattle stock of the ACAs amounted to 22.5 per cent of the country's total cattle stock.

The co-operative movement assumed an increasingly mass character. For example, in 1957 the Bulgan Aimak ACAs embraced 40 per cent of all arat farms and 63 per cent of the total cattle stock. At the same time in the Bogd Somon of the Bayan Khongor Aimak 74.3 per cent of all the arat farms with 77 per cent of the somon's population were members of co-operatives. These co-operatives had 90.9 per cent of all of the somon's cattle stock. In the Zereg Somon of the Kobdo Aimak the co-operatives included 80 per cent of all the arat farms with 70 per cent of the total population; 79 per cent of the cattle stock of the somon's arat farms was collectivised. New ACAs were being continuously organised in all of the country's aimaks.

Resting on the growing and strengthening socialist sector of the national economy and on the union of the working class and the peasantry the people's state supported the initiative of the arat masses aimed at completing the co-operation of agriculture ahead of time. As a result, the co-operation was completed by the end of 1959. There were now 389 ACAs in the Republic with 99.3 per cent of all the arat farms and 73.3 per cent of the total arat cattle stock. At that time each ACA had an average of 475 farms with 1,161 persons of whom 744 were able-bodied. Each ACA numbered an average of 13,000 head of collectivised cattle.* In 1967, as a result of amalgamation of the ACAs, they numbered 300.

Thus socialist ownership of the means of production has won in all branches of the national economy.

Because of the victory of the co-operative system in agriculture the Mongolian People's Republic has entered a

* These figures are given in terms of horned cattle.

new phase of its history—the period of overall building of socialism.

The development of the country's productive forces gave rise to the necessity of amalgamating the small ACAs with the result that about 100 of them were amalgamated over a period of 3-4 years.

The 4th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the M.P.R.P. held in December 1959 discussed the results of co-operation of the arat farms and the most important measures for further strengthening the ACAs organisationally and economically.

The Second Congress of the foremost ACA people took place at the end of 1959. Considering the rapid development and strengthening of collective farming and the experience of the best farms the congress introduced a number of essential changes and addenda into the Model Rules of the ACAs. The members of ACAs themselves admitted the necessity of somewhat reducing the privately-owned cattle stock. The congress noted that a large personal cattle stock detracted ACA members from social labour. According to the new Model Rules, one family could now have the following cattle: in the Khangai zone —up to 10 head per family member, but not more than 50 head per family; in the Gobi zone—15 and 75 head respectively. Such a personal cattle stock of ACA members was conducive to the best combination of personal and social interests and at the same time served as a considerable additional source of income of ACA members.

From 1958 to 1960 the procurement and purchasing prices of the basic ACA products were repeatedly raised. As a result of these measures ACA members received during the aforesaid period 200 million tugriks. The ACAs also grew increasingly more profitable.

With the completion of co-operation a land reform was carried out, allotting pastures, hay-mowing lands, arable lands, forests and water sources to the ACAs and state farms; this played an important part in the transition from extensive to more intensive development of cattle-breeding.

From 1957 to 1959 the output of wool, milk and meat in the ACAs of the Republic increased 150-240 per cent,

the gross grain harvest—400 per cent, and the gross hay harvest—150 per cent.

During 1955-59 the sown areas of the ACAs increased more than sixfold and amounted to one-fourth of the total sown area of the Republic. The gross grain harvest in the ACAs steadily increased.

Since 1959 the ACAs have been producing and supplying three-quarters of all the marketable animal products of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Many ACAs jointly and by their own efforts fell building timber, construct canals and expand the sown areas.

The development of cropping in the Republic is of enormous importance for the further advance of the economy and for the transition of the nomadic cattle-breeding arats to a settled mode of life.

Since the 13th Congress of the M.P.R.P. the sown areas have been considerably expanded by successful cultivation of virgin lands.

As a result of using modern agrotechnical methods and extensive mechanisation of field cropping the latter has become much more efficient and has considerably increased the grain yield. In 1960 the average grain harvest in the Republic as a whole amounted to 10.4 centners per hectare, including the 11.3 centners per hectare on the state farms. According to the Statistical Board of the Mongolian People's Republic, 269.2 kg of grain was harvested per capita in 1960.

The state farms continued to gain strength. In 1960 there was an average of 13,100 hectares of arable land, 94 tractors (in terms of 15 hp units), 38 combines and 19,400 head of cattle per state farm. More than one-third of the state farms had sown areas in excess of 15,000 hectares. In 1960 the state farms delivered to the state an average of 5,760 tons of grain each, while the Jargalantui State Farm delivered more than 16,000 tons.*

By 1961 the state farms had 11,500 workers who constituted the bulk of the working class engaged in agriculture.** Settlements with modern conveniences have been built for the workers and employees of the state farms and

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* See Y. Tsedenbal, *Selected Articles and Speeches*, Vol. 2, p. 331.
** Ibid., p. 332.

the machine-and-hay-mowing stations; the material and cultural standards of these workers and employees have been steadily rising.

During the Third Five-Year Plan period the fixed production assets in agriculture considerably increased; the gross output of animal products increased 13 per cent and the cattle stock—15.4 per cent, i.e., to 23.8 million head.*

The second important branch of socialist agriculture—cropping—has also achieved considerable development: the cropping is conducted according to a scientifically substantiated system corresponding to the local natural and climatic conditions. As a result, the gross cropping output increased during the Third Five-Year Plan period 29.7 per cent, the sown areas increasing 81 per cent. In 1965 there was 0.6 hectare of arable land per man and more than 300 kg of wheat was produced per capita.**

The state farms have become large mechanised enterprises, the main producers of grain, potatoes and vegetables. They provide 80 per cent of the state's procurements of wheat and 60 per cent of fine and semi-fine wool.*** They supply the ACAs with pedigreed cattle. In 1965 the sown areas of the state farms amounted, according to the Statistical Board of the Mongolian People's Republic, to 319,400 hectares. Each state farm has an average of 10,800 hectares of sown area, 155 tractors (in conventional terms), 44 combines and 19 motor vehicles.****

The introduction and use of modern machinery as well as the strengthening of the material and technical base of agriculture, constitute a major achievement in its development. During the Third Five-Year Plan period alone agriculture was given 5,000 different tractors (in conventional terms), 1,190 grain combines, more than 1,400 motor vehicles and a good deal of other machinery.*****

The ACAs have become the main producers and providers of animal products.

In our country ACAs are the highest form of socialist

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* See *15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.*
** Ibid.
*** Ibid.
**** Ibid.
***** Ibid.

co-operative economy where the basic means of production are socialised, labour is collective and is paid for according to the socialist principle, while the economy is managed on the basis of a long-term plan drawn up by the ACAs themselves. Each ACA is a large farm in which every cattle-breeding team is a large production unit since it has to do with many thousands of head of cattle. ACAs are in a position to make effective use of the achievements of science and technology—tractors, combines, electric motors and other machinery—which is beyond the powers of individual arat farms.

Specialisation of various labour processes in the ACAs makes it possible properly to organise the labour power and successfully to raise the productivity of labour.

The ACAs formed by the Mongolian cattle-breeders have now become enterprises which ensure the rural population a well-to-do and cultured life. According to 1966 data, there is an average of 418,000 hectares of land and 60,000 head of cattle per ACA.

During 1961-65 the collective cattle stock of the ACAs increased 2.6 million head and constituted 77 per cent of the Republic's total cattle stock. The pecuniary incomes of the ACAs more than doubled.*

By 1965 two hundred and eighty-nine ACAs of the Republic had 17.5 per cent of the tractors, 5 per cent of the combines and 56 per cent of the motor vehicles used in the Republic's agriculture. Whereas in 1960 the ACAs had 22.5 per cent of all of the Republic's sown areas, in 1965 these areas increased to 30.8 per cent.

The establishment of a material and technical basis of socialism in agriculture presupposes extensive introduction of the achievements of science and technology into agricultural production, mechanisation of the basic labour processes in cropping and cattle-breeding, and transfer of all the population to a settled way of life.

During 1966-70 about 30 per cent of all capital investments will be made in expanding and consolidating the material and technical base of agriculture, i.e., they will double compared with the preceding five-year plan period,

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* See *15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.*

while gross agricultural output will increase 38-40 per cent with an average annual increase of about 7 per cent.

Agriculture will receive at least 3,500 tractors, 1,500 combines and a large number of other machines and implements.

The state plans to increase its aid to the ACAs in construction of production, cultural and welfare facilities by granting them credits and supplying them with building materials and designing documentation. The Fourth Congress of ACA delegates held in June 1967 considered problems of further strengthening the ACAs organisationally and economically and instituted a Higher Council of the Republican ACA Union.

The historical experience of the Soviet Union in developing the collective-farm system considerably facilitated the solution of the co-operation problems in the Mongolian People's Republic. The victory of the socialist system and the rapid increase in agricultural production in a number of fraternal countries in Europe and Asia also favourably influenced the successful completion of the co-operation of the arat farms in Mongolia. In the Mongolian People's Republic the co-operation was achieved without dispossessing the rural exploiter elements who voluntarily became members of ACAs.

The socialist transformation of agriculture has for ever abolished exploitation of man by man and has raised the living standards of the rural toilers. It is one of the chief results of the country's non-capitalist development towards socialism. It is one of the principal victories of the socialist construction in the Mongolian People's Republic.

Thus, with the completion of agricultural co-operation a social and economic leap has been made from medievalism to socialism, the lower phase of communism.

CHAPTER 7

CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Despite the extremely limited opportunities cultural construction began in the country immediately after the victory of the 1921 people's revolution. The chief difficulties were the lack of even the most elementary material basis, such as buildings for elementary schools and hospitals, the total absence of trained personnel and a shortage of money. But under the leadership of the M.P.R.P. the Mongolian people surmounted these difficulties due to the country's economic and cultural backwardness and ensured the cultural transformation of the country.

The first elementary schools were opened in the towns of Urga, Ulyasutai, Kobdo and Altan Bulak in 1923-24. During the first post-revolutionary years rural schools and rural hospitals had to be housed in yurtas. Children were taught their native language, arithmetic, geography and other subjects. The most literate people were sent to schools as teachers. The education was made free from the very outset, the schools were maintained at the expense of the state and developed on democratic principles, i.e., were accessible to the children of arats. It should be remembered that during the first years of the people's power not all arats were willing to send their children to school; quite a few arat families wanted their children to stay at home and help in the work; a certain influence was sometimes also exerted by the Church.

As the cultural and educational work was extended, however, the broad masses of the people developed a craving for an education and the arats very willingly began to send their children to school.

The complete support given by the labouring masses to the Party's policy in cultural construction was a sign of further development of their consciousness. In the 1930s a mass movement for building schools with the money donated by the arats themselves emerged among the toiling arats. About 200 such schools were established by the 1940s.

By the end of the general democratic stage of development of the Mongolian People's Republic school education had made considerable achievements. Whereas in 1924 the Republic numbered 16 elementary schools, in 1940 there were already 338 schools—331 general educational and 7 special secondary. In 1960 the number of general educational schools increased 26.6 per cent, the contingents of pupils in them increasing fourfold compared with 1940.

By 1961 all children of school age attended school, the state introducing universal compulsory elementary education in rural areas and 7-year schooling in towns.

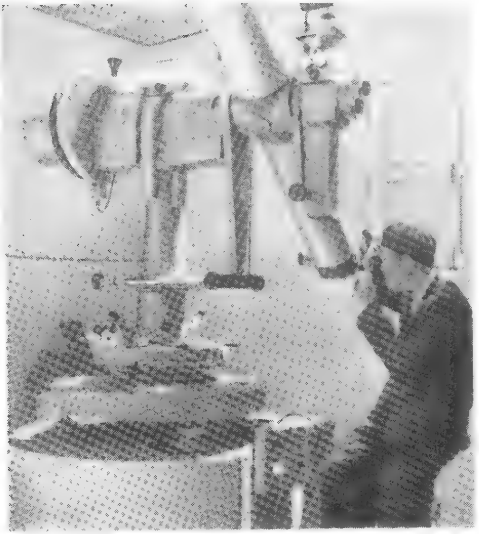
Considerable new achievements in public education were made during the Third Five-Year Plan period. The number of pupils in general educational schools increased 45 per cent, while the number of accommodations in boarding schools increased 20 per cent. The teaching personnel greatly improved, almost 97 per cent of them now having a higher or special secondary education.*

During the Fourth Five-Year Plan period the number of pupils in general educational schools will increase 45 per cent as compared with 1965.

The citizens who for various reasons could not get an education in due time are now given every opportunity to attend evening schools for adults. In 1960 the number of such general educational schools increased 144 per cent as compared with 1958, the number of people attending them increasing 221 per cent.

The schools are staffed with skilled teachers and are supplied with textbooks in the native language. The curricula, programmes and textbooks are systematically revised and improved in keeping with the achievements of modern science, a good deal of attention being devoted to general educational subjects, for example, fundamentals of natural

* See *15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.*



Observatory of the Academy of Sciences
of the Mongolian People's Republic

science, the native language and literature, national history and geography of the homeland. A stable schooling structure has been established and consolidated in the country: four years of elementary school, three years of junior secondary and three years of senior secondary school.

After graduation from junior secondary school young people may continue their education in the 8th, 9th and 10th grades of senior secondary school or enter special secondary schools with a 3-year course of training, turning out junior specialists. Persons with a complete secondary education have access to schools of higher learning with a 4-5-year course of training. In these schools young people acquire high professional skills and then work in various branches of the national economy and culture.

One of the chief concerns of the Party and government was training of specialists because at the time the People's Government formed there were no specialists in either state, economic, cultural, Party or military construction.

The principal forms of training specialists during the general democratic stage of development of the Mongolian People's Republic were in the main apprenticeship in production under the supervision of Soviet specialists, short-term and long-term courses, and training in the Higher Party School and secondary schools in Ulan Bator and a number of Soviet cities. Service in the Mongolian Army also played a very important part in providing the national economy and culture with necessary specialists.

From the 1940s the opportunities for training specialists continuously increased in special vocational schools of the Mongolian People's Republic, in the secondary and higher schools of the U.S.S.R. and, from the 1950s, also in other fraternal countries.

The main type of a secondary vocational school in the Mongolian People's Republic is the technical school with a 3-year course of training. In 1965 the country numbered 18 such schools, the contingents in these schools increasing that year 8 per cent compared with 1960.*

Senior specialists are trained by the Higher Party School which opened in 1924, the Pedagogical Institute

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* Ibid.

established in 1940, the Mongolian State University founded in 1942, and the later organised agricultural, financial and economic, educational, medical and other colleges.

In five years some 16,000 specialists with a higher or special secondary education were trained for the various branches of the national economy and culture with the result that in 1965, as is attested by the Statistical Board of the Mongolian People's Republic, the country numbered 29,800 senior and junior specialists.*

The same year the number of higher school students increased 54.5 per cent compared with 1960.**

Towards the end of the Third Five-Year Plan period there were 97 higher school students, 83 special secondary school students and 1,489 general educational school pupils per 10,000 population.

The number of students per 10,000 population in the Mongolian People's Republic is almost twice that of France, 2.4 times that of Italy and nearly six times that of Turkey.

Besides, there are various short-term and long-term courses in the country. In the last ten years such courses were attended by many ACA chairmen, secretaries of primary Party organisations, workers of Party, government, financial and economic bodies.

Scores of thousands of skilled workers of the most diverse specialities are engaged in all branches of the country's economy and culture.

During 1966-70 the Party and government plan considerably to increase the training of senior and junior specialists; in agriculture alone the number of these specialists will increase 77 per cent.

Several thousand junior specialists and skilled workers are to be trained for the industry and construction at industrial vocational schools and short-term courses.

During 1966-70 the aforesaid schools will also train skilled workers and machine operators for agriculture, i.e., tractor drivers, combine operators, mechanics for electric milking machines, shearing machines and mechanised

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* See *15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.*

** Ibid.

wells; the production training base of the now operating schools of young cattle-breeders will be consolidated.

One of Mongolia's major achievements in cultural construction is the *liquidation of illiteracy among the adults*. This problem was finally solved as early as 1947-52 with the result that by 1952 some 99 per cent of the country's adult population could read and write in their native language. Liquidation of illiteracy was a result of persistent and extensive work. In the beginning the people were taught on the basis of the old alphabet which had come into existence as far back as 1206 and was used in literature, including primers, textbooks, scientific works, fiction, etc. But the three different tracings of the self-same Mongolian letter in the beginning, middle and end of each word complicated and impeded the spread of literacy among the broad masses of the population. This problem and other analogous problems were for many years the subject of discussion among our intelligentsia. Suggestions were made to replace the old Mongolian alphabet by a more convenient, say Latin, alphabet. In the final analysis life demonstrated the expedience of using the Russian alphabet which now underlies all the state business correspondence.

The forms of teaching the adult population the 3 Rs varied and changed at different periods. The main organisations engaged in liquidating illiteracy were the school and the army. In the countryside every literate person was obligated to visit his neighbours once or twice a week and teach them to read and write. Schoolchildren and students were enlisted during their vacations to teach the illiterate. At a later stage 2-4-week courses were organised to instruct youth and adults in teaching methods. This appreciably accelerated the process of teaching the population. Moreover, the studies were annually repeated for the purpose of consolidating the literacy, while special training appliances were made for the barely literate.

An important part was played by popular books and periodicals circulated among the population.

Today the country is publishing 12 central and 19 local newspapers, 14 magazines, scientific, popular-science, political and technical literature and fiction.

Before the establishment of the people's power education and science expressed and upheld the interests of the

ruling class and the clergy, and were out of the people's reach.

The Tsanit school of philosophy, Zurkhain Datsan school of astrology, Emch Naryn Datsan school of medicine and the Ekhiin Sunbum xylographic publishing house operated in the Urga Monastery and a number of other large monasteries. A secular education, for example, a knowledge of the native language and literature, was given primarily to feudal officials, while among the plain people there were very few literates.

The establishment of the people's power in 1921 gave rise to the development of scientific thought. The first small group of scientific workers concentrated their attention on collecting and systematising source materials on history, literature and language, and on translating popular-science and scientific works from the Russian, French, German and other languages. With the aid of Soviet scientists the young Mongolian scientific workers improved their skills and mastered the scientific methodology. Gradually they organised studies in the history, literature and language of their people, geology, geography and economy of their country.

The foundation of the Mongolian State University in 1942 and then a number of other higher schools accelerated the increase in the number of scientists. In 1957 the Scientific Committee was reorganised into the Science and Higher Education Committee. As a government body this Committee supervised scientific research and the work of the higher schools. On May 16, 1961, the Central Committee of the M.P.R.P. and the Council of Ministers backed the proposals of scientists and decided to found an Academy of Sciences of the Mongolian People's Republic. The Academy of Sciences was inaugurated on May 24, 1961.

The Academy of Sciences is the highest research centre in the Republic. It consists of members, corresponding members and foreign members.

The members and corresponding members are elected at general meetings of the Academy of Sciences from among doctors of science, professors and other scientists who by their creative work make an appreciable contribution to the development of science.

The foreign members elected to the Academy of

Sciences are outstanding foreign scientists who by their creative work and other activities contribute to the development of world progressive science and the consolidation of peace among the nations, or who have made major contributions to the studies of Mongolia. For example, the foreign members of our Academy include M. V. Keldysh, outstanding Soviet physicist and mathematician, Go Mo-zho, noted Chinese orientalist, Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, well-known philosopher and Indian statesman, L. Legeti, Hungarian authority on Mongolia, etc.

The Academy of Sciences of the Mongolian People's Republic is maintaining extensive scientific relations with foreign scientific institutions and is co-operating with the Academies of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, the Chinese People's Republic, Hungary, Korea, Vietnam, and with scientific institutions and scientists of many other countries.

Our country's scientists have always taken part in the work of many international scientific congresses and conferences and in the world peace movement.

The Academy of Sciences of the Mongolian People's Republic has the following departments:

a) Department of Social Sciences consisting of three institutes—Institute of History, Institute of Language and Literature and Institute of Economics;

b) Department of Natural Sciences consisting of five institutes—Institute of Geography, Institute of Chemistry and Physics (with subdepartments of chemistry and physics), Institute of Medical Sciences, Institute of Biology and Institute of Geology;

c) Department of Agricultural Sciences consisting of the Institute of Plant-Growing and Cropping, in Zunkhara, and the Institute of Cattle-Breeding, in Ulan Bator, the North Mongolian Fruit and Berry Station, the East Mongolian Complex Experimental Agricultural Station, the Gobi Complex Experimental Agricultural Station, the West Mongolian Complex Agricultural Station and a number of stations scattered throughout the country.

In addition to the foregoing institutes and stations the Academy of Sciences of the Mongolian People's Republic has an astronomic observatory, seismological stations, a

fundamental scientific library in Ulan Bator, a printing-house and science publishing house, a state museum, Choizhin-lamyn-sume temple-museum in Ulan Bator, a palace-museum formerly owned by the last Mongolian bogdo-khan, etc.

The publication of over 80 scientific monographs, some 200 other scientific works and more than 100 recommendations and proposals directly intended for production were the most important results of the scientific work of the research institutions of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences for 1961-65.

Our scientists have developed a new highly productive breed of sheep—Orkhon, new varieties of wheat—Orkhon, Burgultai and Khara. Important research in selection and agrotechnics of grain crops has been carried out for the purpose of increasing their yield.

Major scientific works in history, language, literature, economics and geography of the Mongolian People's Republic have been published.

In our country scientists are highly respected by the people and feel the daily concern and support of the Central Committee of the M.P.R.P. and the government. Many scientists are deputies of the Great People's Khural and local khurals.

The most important achievement of the Mongolian people in culture is the flourishing of new Mongolian literature and art which have emerged and are developing on the basis of the creative work of the people and the best achievements of the national and world cultures.

Some representatives of the intelligentsia had an erroneous attitude to the cultural heritage, which was expressed in a denial of the progressive aspect of this heritage, on the one hand, and its excessive idealisation, excluding a scientific approach in the evaluation of the past, on the other. Neither of these points of view could win the support of the advanced part of the intelligentsia and the people.

The national culture could develop successfully only on the basis of a further development of the progressive heritage of the past national culture and mastery of the achievements of world culture. Nationalism bars the people's access to world culture, limits them to a short range

of questions of the national culture, thereby leading them to isolation and, consequently, to a lag of the country's cultural development behind world civilisation.

The new Mongolian literature was born in the fire of the people's revolution, in the struggle of the people for liquidation of feudal backwardness, for building a new, free life.

During the struggle against the feudal class and foreign capital anti-imperialist and anti-feudal posters with picturesque, laconic texts were made, plays and so-called living newspapers (short dramatisations) were staged, and new, revolutionary songs were composed. Revolutionary partisan songs were composed under the direct influence of the people's revolution, on the basis of folk-song traditions.

From the very first days of its emergence the new Mongolian literature brought to the masses the ideas of the revolution and called on them to take an active part in building a new life.

A very important part in the development of the new Mongolian literature was played by M. Gorky's letter written to the Mongolian intelligentsia in 1925. In this letter the great proletarian writer appealed to the Mongolian writers to preach an active attitude to life, "strenuous thought aspiring to real freedom, not to the freedom of inactivity".

Gorky's suggestions helped the Mongolian writers truthfully to depict the typical phenomena in the life of their country.

The end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s saw the appearance of such remarkably realistic works of Mongolian literature as D. Natsagdorzh's stories—*Khuuchin Muu* (*Son of the Old World*), *Tsagaan Sar Ba Khar Nulmis* (*White Moon and Black Tears*), poem *Miny Nutag* (*My Motherland*), play *Uchirtai Gurvan Tolgoi* (*Story about Three Destinies*), Ts. Damdisuren's story *Gologdson Khukhen* (*Rejected Girl*) and poem *Buural Eezh* (*Grey-Haired Mother*), S. Buyannemekh's revolutionary songs and play *Kharankhui Zasag* (*Dark Power*), and many others. In these works a truthful depiction of the country's life of that time is closely interwoven with an irreconcilable attitude to any survivals of feudalism and an ardent aspiration to all that is new and worthy in life.

The literature of the 1930s played an important educational role by propagandising revolutionary ideas and calling for a struggle to consolidate the new social system.

The poetry of G. Ser-oda, the play of Sh. Ayushi, and the stories of D. Tsevegmid, M. Yadamsuren and other Mongolian writers portray contemporary reality in its revolutionary development, the authors endeavouring to answer the vital questions of their time. An accusatory, critical principle forms the special feature of the literature of this period, the authors devoting their main attention to criticising the reactionary essence of feudal ideology and Buddhist religion.

D. Natsagdorzh's poems permeated with profound love for his homeland and its nature are models of lofty poetry.

Clear-watered rivers flow through you,
Transparent lakes lie deep and blue.
Looking at them, a sad eye brightens,
The heaviest of burdens lightens.
Mongolia, my land so fair,
I love, I need you more than air.

. . . . . .

Lovers of peace, we go our way,
Our people's power we guard and build.
If foes wage war on us one day
All their attacks will be repelled.
Mongolia, my land so fair,
*I love, I need you more than air.**

The Mongolian writers and poets of the 1940s, for example, D. Senge—*Ayush*, Ch. Oidov—plays, Ch. Lkhamsuren—*Khuren Mor* (*Chestnut Horse*), make the main character of their works a person of their days, one of high moral qualities and, primarily, a selfless patriot.

These basic tendencies were further developed in the literature of the period of socialist construction.

Poet Ch. Lkhamsuren, in his poem *Steel Road*, expresses his gratitude to the Soviet people for their fraternal aid:

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* D. Natsagdorzh, "My Homeland", *Mongolian Poetry, Moscow*, 1957, pp. 75, 77.

Through our Motherland's expanses,
Over hills and deserts vast
We have laid a track for ever
For trains to travel safe and fast.
As a gift of faithful friendship
It will serve for peaceful needs;
Built with brotherly assistance,
To our happiness it leads.

. . . . . .

Cars speed on beside the rails,
An airplane's roar our voices drowns.
Following their iron trails,
Trains run to and from our towns.
As a gift of loyal friendship,
Reminding of heroic deeds,
Built with brotherly assistance,
*To our future joy it leads.**

The past decade was a period of a considerable creative upsurge for the Mongolian writers. A new, young generation of writers and poets has come into being. The novels of B. Rinchen, D. Namdag and Ch. Lodoidamba, the lyrics of Yavuukhulan, and the stories of Erdene, D. Myagmar, etc., have won extensive popularity.

The most widespread form of writing in modern Mongolian literature is the story depicting important and urgent problems of Mongolian life of the period of collectivisation and final victory of socialist relations in agriculture.

The central role in all Mongolian stories is played by man who advocates a new attitude to life, work and the family.

The portrayal of the builders of the new life fostered the development of the new artistic method of socialist realism in Mongolian literature, the method that now underlies all of Mongolian literature. The basic principle determining the development of Mongolian literature towards socialist realism was that of a Party spirit and national character.

By continuing the best traditions of the people's crea-

* Ch. Lkhamsuren, "Steel Road", *Mongolian Poetry*, p. 72.

tive work and of the national literature and by truthfully depicting on the basis of socialist realism the life and struggle of the Mongolian people the new Mongolian literature has made considerable progress.

Mongolian poetry, prose and dramaturgy are continuously producing new and important works.

One of the achievements of the new literature is that the Mongolian people are now in a position to read in their native language the immortal works of Shakespeare, Balzac, Hugo, Goethe, Dickens, Tolstoi, Pushkin, Gogol, Chekhov, and many others. Moreover, the works of modern foreign writers, especially those of the writers of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, are published in large editions. The works of writers of more than 100 countries have been translated into the Mongolian language.

The theatre, painting, music and other forms of modern Mongolian art are also a potent means of ideological and cultural education of the masses.

The State Music and Drama Theatre founded in 1931 has developed into a major creative company numbering more than 500 people.

An Opera and Ballet Theatre, a Drama Theatre, a Children's Theatre, a Puppet Theatre, three Music and Drama theatres, a Circus and two ensembles are now operating in the Republic.

The theatres stage original modern plays, operas and ballets which depict the distressing past of the Mongolian people, the great social changes in modern Mongolia and its bright future. Their repertoires also include works of the world classics—Moliere, Shakespeare, Goldoni, Lope de Vega, Gogol, Chekhov, Ostrovsky—and modern Soviet and other foreign authors.

The musical culture of modern Mongolia has assumed a mass character and is represented by numerous national instrument orchestras, and a number of choruses and symphony orchestras.

The national musical culture is developing on the basis of studies and propaganda of the outstanding works of such world famous composers as Beethoven, Mozart, Bach, Gounod, Glinka, Chaikovsky, Borodin, Chopin, Haydn, Dvořak, Smetana, and many others.

Mongolian artists and musicians have participated in all world democratic youth festivals and many of them are international contest prize winners.

The M.P.R.P. and Mongolian Government display a good deal of concern for the development of the national film industry. The first motion picture theatre opened in Ulan Bator in 1934 and began to train national film workers. Today there are mobile projector units in all ACAs and cinema projectors in all aimak centres. The country now has some 50 cinema projectors and more than 400 mobile projector units.

The Mongolkino Film Studio is now increasing its production of full-length feature films and documentaries and is dubbing foreign films in Mongolian. Mongolkino films have won several prizes at international festivals. For example, in 1958 the film *What's Stopping Us* was awarded a diploma of the Karlovy Vary Film Festival, while in 1959 Tsevelsuren, the actress who played the leading role in the film *The People's Envoy*, won at the International Film Festival in Moscow the prize for the best performance of a female role. In 1960 the film *If a Horse...* was granted a diploma at the Karlovy Vary Film Festival.

The Mongolian State Circus has become one of the people's favourite spectacles.

The revolutionary events have found their reflection in painting. The progressive part of the artists—former icon painters—turned to modern themes very soon after the victory of the people's revolution. It was at that period that the realistic portraits of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and Sukhe Bator were painted by Sharav, noted Mongolian artist.

There are two trends in Mongolian painting: the traditional, national, flat painting whose prominent representatives are the well-known Yadamsuren and the late Manibadar, and spatial painting now represented by most modern Mongolian artists.

The Mongolian sculptors have also made considerable achievements since the revolution. They have produced a number of interesting works, for example, the *Monument to Sukhe Bator*, the *Unbroken Horse*, and the *Partisan*. Moreover, such original and traditional forms of art as

wood carving, bone carving and chasing are being further developed.

Thus, reflecting the problems of the general democratic and socialist stages of our revolution, literature and art have been playing an important role in raising the cultural and ideological standards of the population, in asserting the socialist ideology and in the non-capitalist development of the country towards socialism.

The Mongolian literature and art are borrowing from the Soviet and other fraternal peoples of socialist countries the best traditions and achievements of their art and literature. This is in large measure fostered by the extensive exchange of workers of culture and art, professional theatre companies and amateur art groups, fine arts exhibitions and films between the Mongolian People's Republic and other socialist countries, as well as joint translation and publication of literature and many other forms of work. These lively cultural contacts and relations help to raise the standards of our literature and art and contribute to the development and enrichment of the culture of the Mongolian people and to rapprochement of the nations.

The M.P.R.P. and the Mongolian Government have devoted a good deal of attention to cultural, educational and mass agitational work. This work has been carried on among the nomads in accordance with the conditions of their life and work. For example, during the first years of the people's power rural agitators were assigned to five and sometimes ten farms located in one area. Two or three times a week these agitators went, at a definite time, to the assigned farms and brought them the newspapers and radio news. Very often the most literate arats were enlisted to read newspapers aloud.

Since the liquidation of illiteracy among the adult population almost every arat has willingly subscribed to central or local newspapers and has been reading fiction and popular-science literature. Many arats now have in their yurtas a small personal bookshelf, but in most cases they receive books from ACA libraries. Every cattle-breeder has a radio receiver and is thereby posted on all domestic and international developments. Scientific and political talks and lectures are regularly given, amateur art concerts

are arranged and special broadcasts on scientific and political subjects, as well as musical broadcasts, are organised for the countryfolk.

An important role in the propaganda of culture and art among the working people is played by palaces of culture, clubs, recreation and reading rooms and other cultural and educational institutions established at the time of the people's power. These institutions achieved particular development during the Third Five-Year Plan period, when more than 300 clubs, some 1,000 recreation and reading rooms and 312 libraries* were built in ACA centres.

Amateur art circles are very widespread and popular in Mongolia.

During the very first years of the revolution the local youth performed before the people, especially during the traditional processions. These performances propagandised among the masses new ideas and the revolutionary culture.

Agitation teams from the capital and aimak centres visit the somons where they deliver political and scientific lectures, give talks and concerts and stage plays.

There are amateur art circles at industrial enterprises and in schools, on state farms, in ACAs and in the People's Army. Reviews of these circles are regularly held, decades of theatres and of aimak amateur art collectives being arranged in the capital, and reviews of somon and ACA amateur art circles being organised in aimaks. These measures help to reveal talented people in various spheres of art and contribute to further development of the creative endeavours of the people. The Party and government award government prizes to the best performers and confer honorary titles on many of the participants.

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As was already mentioned, from the time of the spread of Buddhism the national holidays of the Mongolian people were utilised by the clergy in their own interests. The

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* See *15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.*

civil content of these holidays was emasculated and they assumed a religious character.

Since the victory of the revolution the national holidays have acquired a new social content. For example, the Mongolian people now annually celebrate the *Nadom* on July 11 in honour of the people's revolution of 1921. At this time exhibitions, as well as traditional and modern athletic contests, are held. The winners are given prizes. The holidays are attended by foreign tourists and guests.

International revolutionary holidays, the anniversary of the October Revolution, May Day, etc., are extensively celebrated in Mongolia. The Mongolian people are now celebrating the European New Year, while the Mongolian New Year formerly celebrated in February, according to the lunar calendar, has now become the ACA Day.

The transformations in the sphere of culture are the results of the people's complex cultural and ideological development. They constitute a whole revolution in the spiritual life of the working people of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The cultural revolution is one of the main achievements of the Mongolian people brought about by Mongolia's non-capitalist development towards socialism.

CHAPTER 8

RISE IN THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL STANDARDS OF THE PEOPLE

The path of non-capitalist development on which Mongolia embarked in virtue of the people's revolution of 1921 has been accompanied by fundamental changes in the material and cultural standards of the working people.

Immediately after the victory of the people's revolution the arats felt a sense of relief and tangible material advantages resulting from their emancipation, the annulment of various requisitions and obligations and cancellation of the unpaid debts to foreign usurers.

The emancipation was further consolidated when the land was declared to be public property, which deprived the princes of hereditary ownership of vast territories. The confiscation of millions of head of cattle and considerable material values from the feudal lords and their transfer to the state and partially to poor arats meant a just return to the working people of the wealth of which they were for centuries being robbed by the exploiters.

As was already mentioned, in pursuing the economic policy the people's power granted the poor and middle arats extensive tax privileges and considerable credits. While supporting individual economic initiative of the arats in developing cattle-breeding—the main branch of the country's economy—the people's power limited the capitalist elements and gave all possible assistance to the socialist sector in agriculture.

The socialist co-operation of the arat farms for ever liquidated the grounds for exploitation of man by man. The victory of socialism in all walks of society's life opened

up extensive opportunities for the best satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of the people, which is the chief concern of the Party and the people's state. Socialist ownership of the means of production became the firm economic basis of society. The basic principle of socialism—"From each according to his ability, to each according to his work"—was firmly established in the Mongolian People's Republic.

The principal aim of socialist production is a steady increase in the social wealth and, on this basis, an improvement of the well-being of the masses.

The people's state is greatly concerned about increasing the collective wealth of the ACAs and raising the living standards of the ACA members. The taxation and procurement systems serve the interests of the ACAs. For example, in 1954 the procurement prices of cattle were raised 80 per cent and the purchasing prices of milk, wool and hides were increased fourfold. The procurement prices were again raised in December 1959, notably, 200 per cent on various kinds of wool, 50 per cent on milk, etc.

The Central Committee of the M.P.R.P. and the Council of Ministers deemed it necessary completely to exempt the ACA members from paying the cattle-breeding tax. As a result of this the ACAs and their members began to receive millions of tugriks of additional annual income. Whereas in 1960 some 84 per cent of the ACAs had an annual pecuniary income of less than one million tugriks, by 1966 most ACAs became millionaires, 59 per cent of them having an income of one to two million tugriks, 28 per cent from two to three million tugriks, and 7 per cent more than three million tugriks. Owing to the steady growth of the collective economy the well-being of the ACA members is improving with each passing year. Every ACA member working in the collective economy received an average of nearly three times as much for his work in 1965 as he had five years before.*

By 1970 the pecuniary incomes of the ACAs will increase 40 per cent compared with 1965.**

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* See *15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.*

** Ibid.

Great changes are taking place in the appearance of the countryside and in the life of ACA members, former individual arats.

Modern cultural and production centres arise in the form of large settlements around the cattle-breeding farms and teams of ACA members. All ACAs have their medical and veterinary centres, elementary or secondary schools, recreation and reading rooms and clubs. Many of them have dispensaries, kindergartens, hotels, film projectors, libraries, shops, dining-rooms, baths, radio-relay centres, electric power plants, telephone exchanges and bakeries. Some ACAs have production shops, gymnasiums, museums of local lore, hostels for the aged and holiday homes. In the yurtas of the arats one can now see metal beds, rugs, sewing machines, modern household utensils and articles of culture, including radio receivers.

The state is planning to provide pensions for ACA members on a par with industrial and office workers, and gradually to equalise the wages of urban and rural workers.

The fourth Programme of the M.P.R.P. adopted by the 15th Congress of the Party reads: "The Party considers that its prime duty is steadily to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the co-operated arats, and promote close co-operation between mental and physical workers in order to prepare the ground for the gradual eradication in the future of the essential distinctions between town and country, between mental and physical work on the foundation of all-sidedly developed productive forces and improved relations of production."*

The Party and government are also continuously striving to improve the living standards of the industrial and office workers.

In order further to improve their well-being, their income tax was reduced on an average of about 30 per cent, by a decree of the Great People's Khural, effective as of February 1, 1958. As a result of this, the pecuniary incomes of industrial and office workers increased nine million tugriks a year. In 1960 the taxes collected from the popula-

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* *Programme of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party*, p. 38.

tion amounted only to 5.4 per cent of the revenue as against the 16.7 per cent of 1940. In April 1964 the income tax levied on industrial and office workers was again reduced, while the wages of low-paid categories of workers were raised. By 1965 the wages of these categories were increased by more than 10 per cent. The Party and government are planning to abolish all forms of taxes on the population in accordance with the increasing socialist accumulations in the national economy. The pensions and other allowances paid to the population increased 2.9-fold in 1965 compared with 1960, the allowances to mothers of many children having increased fivefold.*

The social consumption funds used for free education of children and the medical services of the population, as well as for cultural and educational measures, also considerably increased.

The working people receive annual paid leave and free medical aid. Many working people are given free accommodations in sanatoriums and holiday homes.

As a result of all these measures carried out over a period of five years, the real per capita incomes of the working people increased 30 per cent, the real incomes of ACA members from the collective economy having increased 70 per cent.**

The state allocates considerable means for improving labour protection and industrial safety measures at enterprises, and is continuously concerned about facilitating labour and improving the skills of the workers.

The new five-year plan envisages a 30 per cent increase in the national income of the Mongolian People's Republic compared with 1965. This will ensure a further increase in the real incomes of the working people through a rise in the average wages of industrial and office workers and the pecuniary incomes of ACA members from the collective economy, as well as through an increase in the social consumption funds. By 1970 the real incomes of the working people will increase 16-17 per cent and the fund of the industrial and office workers' wages about 30 per cent.

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* See *15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.*

** Ibid.

One of the indices of the improved well-being of the people is the steady rise in their purchasing capacity.

By 1965 the retail trade increased 50 per cent as compared with 1960. The demand of the population for such goods as sewing machines, watches, bicycles, motorcycles, motor cars, refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, etc., is sharply growing. During the last five years the population bought 150,000 radio receivers, 5,000 refrigerators and washing machines, 95,000 sewing machines, 318,000 metal beds, 6,900 motorcycles, etc., which considerably exceeds the purchases of the same goods during the preceding five years.*

During the same period the network of shops and public catering establishments was expanded, and their material and technical basis was consolidated.

Taking the increase in the pecuniary incomes and purchasing capacity of the population into consideration the Fourth Five-Year Plan envisages about a 36 per cent increase in the retail trade, 51 per cent in the sales of milk and dairy products, 390 per cent increase in the sales of eggs, a 150 per cent increase in the sales of potatoes and vegetables, a 30 per cent increase in the sales of flour and flour products, etc.

The state allocates large sums for education, health and social security of the working people.

For example, the share of all the means allocated for the social and cultural measures increased in the state budget from 19.7 per cent in 1940 to 38.2 per cent in 1965 when 497 tugriks were spent per capita on social and cultural needs.

The people's state is particularly concerned about the health of the population and has therefore instituted free medical aid.

In 1965 the total number of hospital beds increased 32 per cent compared with 1960, with the result that today there are 91 hospital beds per 10,000 population.

Medical personnel is being successfully trained. Whereas in 1960 there was one physician per 1,100 population, in 1965 there was one physician per only 740 population,

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* Ibid.

while, according to the World Health Organisation, there is an average of one physician per 3,000 population in the world, one physician per 20,000 in Africa and one physician per 41,000 population in South-East Asia.*

The Fourth Five-Year Plan envisages further improvement in the health services of the population, particularly a 59 per cent increase in the number of physicians in order that there may be one physician per 553 instead of 740 population as in 1965.

The people's state is devoting a good deal of attention to mother and child protection. During the Third Five-Year Plan period the number of accommodations in the Mongolian kindergartens increased 150 per cent and in the nurseries—130 per cent.

Considerable material aid is given to families with many children. Thus, according to the Statistical Board of the Mongolian People's Republic, in 1960-65 they were granted allowances amounting to a total of 135.9 million tugriks.

As a result of the systematic rise in the people's living standards and the improved health services, the population is growing and the life expectancy of the people is increasing.

In 1960-65 the average annual increase in population was three per cent or 30.3 persons per 1,000 population, while the death rate decreased fivefold since the revolution and in 1965 amounted to 9.7 per 1,000 population.

The appearance of the towns and other communities of the Mongolian People's Republic is rapidly changing, while the living and working conditions of the working people are continuously improving.

More houses are being built in towns and settlements with each passing year. Close to 400,000 sq m of dwelling space were commissioned during the Third Five-Year Plan period, more than 10,000 families receiving new flats.

The liquidation of illiteracy, the rise in the cultural standards and the development of the socialist consciousness of the broad masses have led to a diminution in superstitions and other backward prejudices.

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* *See 15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.*

By effecting a historical transition from feudalism to socialism, while by-passing the capitalist stage of development, the Mongolian people have achieved unprecedented results in raising their material and cultural standards.

The free, equal, well-to-do, cultured and happy life which the Mongolian people are living today is one of the basic results of the country's non-capitalist development towards socialism, the result of the successes of socialist construction.

CONCLUSION

The road travelled by Mongolia from feudalism to socialism, despite the number of specific features of its development, confirms again and again the general regularity of mankind's transition to socialism.

The struggle of the Mongolian people for non-capitalist development has ended in abolition of exploitation of man by man and in complete victory of socialist production relations.

Socialist industrialisation, socialist co-operation of agriculture, the cultural revolution, establishment of socialist ownership of the means of production, and the unprecedented rise in the material and cultural standards of the masses of the people—such are the main results of Mongolia's non-capitalist development towards socialism.

The leader and organiser of these historic victories of our people is the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party which, in the process of the class struggle for the solution of the fundamental social problems in the interest of the working people, has developed from a small illegal circle into the ruling Marxist-Leninist party.

As its historical functions were discharged, the power won by the arats as a result of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution of 1921 developed from the dictatorship of the toiling arats into the dictatorship of the working class, which ensured the construction of socialism in the country.

The Mongolian experience most fully and clearly attests that any country, in which pre-capitalist relations prevail,

can successfully avoid the distressing stage of the capitalist formation and arrive at socialism under the leadership of its Marxist party with the aid of the socialist countries.

Only by following this course will the peoples, who have thrown off the colonial yoke, most rapidly and painlessly overcome their age-old backwardness and poverty and will effect a transition to democracy and socialism.